An Eyewitness Report:

CHINESE CITIES

See page four

THE MILITANT

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CIO Indicts Navy As Union-Buster

Union Charges Union Leaders in Navy Yard Were Fired in Scheme to Smash Their Union

PHILADELPHIA, June 3—Suspension of eight active unionists from their jobs at the Navy Yard here was characterized by Darius Kline, national representative of the United Federal Workers of America (CIO) as part of "a union-busting program" of the Navy Department.

Included in the suspensions, said Kline, are the secretary of Local 118 of the United Federal Workers, a former vice-president, the editor of the union's paper, the legislative director, and a shop steward. Two other union men were discharged previously.

A special meeting of the union is scheduled for Friday evening to take action for the reinstatement of the union members.

The union demands their reinstatement pending hearings at which they can defend themselves against any charges by the Navy Yard officials.

The union statement said:

"The Navy Department accused the discharged union secretary of getting orders from his union for a 'slow-down' at the navy yard. Is the Navy Department afraid of a hearing on this charge because the CIO could so easily prove it a malicious falsehood?"

The Navy's conduct in the suspensions was bitterly scored:

"These suspensions were made in the best copyright tradition of the Gestapo—a sudden tap on the shoulder and a quick marine escort out of the yard—no charges, no chance for reply or defense, no previous warnings, no hearings such as are accorded even criminals."

How to Carry Water On Both Shoulders

"No doubt much ink will be spilled on both sides to show that the Pope's world-wide broadcast Sunday was anti-Fascist or pro-Fascist, but a preliminary study of this Pentecost message, made both in and out of the Vatican, agrees that the balance has been kept pretty finely. Some shrewd blows are dealt at the Fascist conception of life, but there are other passages that appear to support Fascist theses. The Pope seems to envisage the new order as a compromise that would satisfy certain Fascist aspirations but, above all, preserve the freedom of the individual."—New York Times, Rome dispatch, June 2nd.

The First Naval Convoy

The first naval "convoy" has been used against striking American workers. Here is the scene of navy trucks and drivers carrying scabs through the picket lines of the 1900 AFL and CIO machinists on strike at 11 San Francisco shipyards. Government strikebreaking, however, has not succeeded in getting production started at the struck plants.

Local 544 Mobilizes In Showdown With Bosses

Minneapolis Drivers Faced By Battle Like That Of 1934; And Again Tobin Is Aiding The Bosses With His Red-Baiting

MINNEAPOLIS, May 31—The latest attempt of the Minneapolis employers to break up the militant Teamsters Local 544 got a crushing answer last Tuesday night, when a huge overflow meeting of the membership roared unanimous approval of their Executive Board's action in serving strike notices upon all trucking bosses who have been stalling on negotiations for renewing contracts expiring June 1st.

In resisting the union's demands, the employers are obviously basing their hopes upon the disruptive activities of a small employer-inspired clique inside the local which has been conducting a red-baiting assault upon the Local 544 leadership with the apparent support of International President Daniel J. Tobin. Timing his moves with the new union-busting campaign of the employers, Tobin has repeated his strike-breaking role of 1934 by publishing a vicious attack upon 544's leadership in the May, 1941, issue of his personal organ, the official journal of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The contracts with the employers expire June 1. Tobin has summoned the leaders of Local 544 to appear before the International Executive Board in Washington on June 3rd for "trial" on charges made by the employer-inspired "Committee of 99" that 544's leaders "support the doctrines of Trotsky" and "are members of the Socialist Workers Party."

UNION MEN MOBILIZE

Against this united front of the bosses, their tools inside Local 544, and the $30,000 a year President of the International, the huge membership of 544 is rising up in a solid fighting mass behind the militant union leadership who built their union and gave life to their slogan: "Make Minneapolis A Union Town."

From all indications Minneapolis is scheduled to be the arena of another great battle equal in significance for the national labor movement to the strikes which stirred the whole country in 1934.

Over 2,000 men packed the third floor hall of the General Drivers Union and overflowed into the second floor hall and into the streets on Tuesday night. Two tremendous banners dominated the front of the hall with slogans reading: REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF 1934! and WE MADE MINNEAPOLIS A UNION TOWN — LET'S KEEP IT THAT WAY!

V. R. DUNNE SPEAKS

V. R. Dunne reported for the Executive Board on the status of negotiations with the bosses. He charged that the employers have been stalling on every major negotiation ever since the demands for new contracts had been presented by union negotiators over 30 days ago.

"The demands of each section were reasonable and realistic," declared Dunne, "yet the closer we come to June 1st, the expiration date of the agreement, the more we are met with resistance on the part of the employers to discuss the important sections of the agreements." Around May 20th the Executive Board decided that the attitude of the employers was hostile and that the union must be mobilized for action at the expiration date of the present agreement. They accordingly sent ten-day strike notices to the State Labor office as required by the Stassen Slave Law.

EMPLOYERS STALLING

"The Union Board wants to say to the membership," warned Dunne, "the employers are stalling, that they are following plans worked out by the Citizens Alliance-Associated Industries crowd, that they believe now is a good opportunity to strike a telling blow at this union."

As evidence of the bosses' conspiracy to smash the union, Dunne pointed to the action of State Labor Board Director Blair, who rejected all but 19 of the union's 370 strike notices as "irregular," although they were exactly the same as hundreds of other notices in previous years that have passed unchallenged. Dunne charged that the State officials had used petty technical devices to disqualify the strike notices at the instigation of Republican Governor Stassen and the Associated Industries.

He announced that the Union was returning corrected notices to the Labor Office and said, to loud applause, that "Stassen's disqualification of our strike notices doesn't mean a thing to this union, if the membership understands what is behind the move and knows how to act."

Dunne declared that if the employers refused to deal with the union and precipitated a struggle, it will be a strike that they will remember for a long time.

A UNION-BUSTING MOVE

Why have the bosses taken the stand they are taking at this time? "I must be frank," Dunne declared, "I believe the bosses have been heartened by what they think is a stir and a split in the ranks of this union. They think they see in the various 'Committees' a place to brace their feet and strike a blow against our union. The bosses have also taken note of President Tobin's criticism of the union leadership. The bosses are beginning to think this is their day, that this is the time to push you as far back as they can, to throw a scare in you about the bogeymen who lead Local 544.

"The bosses believe the union has enough new members who have not been through the battles of 1934 and the succeding years, and who will fall for their lies and their slander. They think they can force the union into submission, or can bring about a split in our ranks. We don't think this will happen.

"I think the bosses and all our critics are wrong, if they believe

(Continued on Page 3)

He Voted for Draft For Your Son — But Not For His

Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith is a 100% American patriot. He's against Negroes, Jews Catholics, Reds, Unionism, the Wagner Act, the Wages and Hours Law, the Anti-Lynch Bill, and anyone who's against a war for "democracy."

"Cotton Ed" voted for conscription with both hands.

Recently "Cotton Ed" Smith's son was reached by the conscription law. Young Smith had no dependents. He was of sound body. The draft board put him on the eligible list.

"Cotton Ed" Smith got mad. He demanded deferment for his son on the grounds of his essential occupation.

Young Smith's "essential" job? He is a secretary, at $3900 a year, on a legislative committee of which his old man is the chairman.

So, young Smith's classification has been changed. He's too "essential" to "Cotton Ed" Smith.

Typographers Refuse To Return To AFL

The membership of the International Typographical Union, by a vote of 33,498 to 25,632, has voted against re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, International President Claude M. Baker announced Tuesday.

The referendum was held on a unanimous recommendation of the International's executive board.

The union was suspended from the AFL on January 29, 1940, for refusing to pay an assessment specifically levied by the AFL for the purpose of fighting the CIO.

The AFL executive board recently did away with that assessment, replacing it by adding 1 cent to the previous 1 cent per capita collected by the AFL from all affiliated Internationals, and it was on this basis that the ITU board recommended re-affiliation.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

It is to be feared that we've all been sadly misjudging Imperial Japan. Somehow in recent years we have gotten the impression that the rulers of the Island Empire are willing to go to any violent lengths in order to acquire market, raw materials and profits.

Maybe it was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 that gave rise to this notion. Or perhaps it was the twice-repeated devastation of Shanghai. Or was it the bestial massacres and rapine which accompanied the Japanese occupation of Nanking in 1937?

And somehow the scourge of Japanese war planes over Chinese cities or Japanese armies careering through the peaceful Chinese countryside, seizing, burning, destroying, raping, have all contributed to the impression that the capitalist morals of Japan are just about the same, say, as Nazi Germany's Britain, the United States, or even Italy.

And just to show how deeply this mistaken impression has ingrained itself, we have very definitely had the feeling that the Japanese seizure of Indo-china and its extended reach toward the Dutch East Indies have been motivated by the simple and unbeautiful desire to appropriate for Japan the French and Dutch "right" to sweat and exploit the native peoples of Southeast Asia.

But it's never too late to make amends for a mistake. We've had the Japanese all wrong all this time. And it's high time we said so quite publicly. And we might as well tell also how our eyes were opened.

"Good Commercial Morals and Shady Transaction Prevention Week," opened our eyes. The Japanese government is holding it this week.

Nothing more. Nothing less. Far from being the rapacious and brutal freebooters we have been imagining them to be, the Japanese rulers are actually mild and honest men who wouldn't ever dream of doing his neighbor out of a yen, a dollar, a franc, or a guilder. Why else would they sponsor a Good Commercial Morals And Shady Transaction Prevention Week? Doesn't this show that we actually have to do with sound, sober, honest, unacquisitive people?

Let's not be wedded to our grudges. Why they've even got banners up in Japanese theatres and public places which say: "No soul looking up to the Rising Sun Flag will besmear itself with dishonor doing shady business." And others say: "Let the gracefulness of Japan be reflected in her commercial morals." And the police even conducted a band of some 1,500 of these misunderstood Japanese businessmen to the Meijii Shrine, where they pledged themselves "to liquidate their conventional (?) tradesmen's spirit and serve the country."

Now when people will do and say such things, who's going to cavil over matters like invasions, air bombings, mass murders, wholesale seizures and wholesale destruction? And that's what we've been doing. We're sorry as anything. Honest we are.

Eden Talk Bares Real War Aims

Churchill-Roosevelt Are Not Fighting Against Fascism, But To Keep Europe Divided And Put The German Nation In Chains

Reassured by Roosevelt's speech that the American imperialists will do their utmost in the war against Germany, Anthony Eden last Thursday exposed with the utmost frankness, the brutal war aims of the British "democratic" ruling class against the German nation. The British Foreign Secretary, commenting on Roosevelt's speech before a gathering of Britain's "most prominent citizens," made very clear that it was not Hitler that Britain intended to annihilate, but Germany itself. This time Versailles would be made to stick:

"We must never forget that Germany is the worst master Europe has yet known. Five times in the last century she has violated the peace. She must never be in a position to play that role again. Our political and military terms of peace will be designed to prevent repetition of Germany's misdeeds."

In these words, Eden is saying plainly that, even if the German people overthrow the fascists tomorrow, Germany is to be given no other alternative except to be carved up and put in a strait-jacket when peace comes. Versailles wasn't anything compared to what the British ruling class has in store for the German people this time.

If Eden were in the pay of Hitler, he could render him no greater service than these words. The German masses do not want the yoke of a foreign invader; yet that is all that Eden is offering them.

DOROTHY THOMPSON ON EDEN'S PROGRAM

Even Dorothy Thompson, one of the most vociferous proponents of the "war for democracy" was appalled by Eden's declaration of Britain's real war aims.

"Mr. Eden seems completely to have forgotten that the *peoples* of Europe — as contrasted with their governments — and especially the people of England, took up the sword not against Germany but against Nazism," she writes (N. Y. *Post*, June 2). And she warns:

"If the suspicion arises, however, that the shape of things to come is to include another attempt to forge guarantees against the industrial strength and work capacity of the German nation, and to attempt to keep her weak on all points because she is a formidable competitor, then no 'moral' order can be claimed (by Britain)." "The war is lost," she says, if Eden's is the program of the democracies.

Dorothy Thompson's dismay at Eden's speech indicates she thinks this the first such utterance from a responsible British official. She is mistaken. There is no "if" about it; the British government has as its fundamental aim, not the fight against fascism, but an imperialist war to destroy a powerful competitor, whether that competitor has a fascist government or a democratic government.

VANSITTART'S SPEECHES SHOWED BRITISH WAR AIM

All through last November and December, weekly broadcast talks were made in London by Sir Robert Vansittart, Chief Diplomatic Advisor to His Majesty's Government.

Those speeches, to justify post war destruction of Germany developed a *racial* theory, that Germans were vicious by nature.

The German, said Sir Robert, is a "butcher-bird," "which *looks* harmless enough to deceive its neighbors, but which is continually springing on them when they least expect it and butchering them."

Although Germany complains of the hostility of other nations, says Vansittart, "So far from there having been any prejudice against Germany, the reason the butcher-bird has been given every conceivable chance is that everybody has always wanted to believe the best of it, or rather not to believe the worst, and this charity, always disappointed, come up smiling again between catastrophes. That is exactly what the butcher-bird wants. He likes his victims to get cosy and confiding, before he pecks them to death."

"Let me now try to show you why it is wrong to count on the better nature of the butcher-bird, and why naturalists know he hasn't got one. We must all drop the habit of making allowance for the Germans. It isn't fair to ourselves. And if anyone asks you to do it again, ask him in return if he knows the German record."

Here is a particularly crude expression of the racial-theory as expressed by Vansittart:

"This bird of prey is no sudden apparition. It is a species. Hitler is no accident. He is the natural and continuous product of a breed which from the dawn of history has been predatory and bellicose . . .

"Of course, there have been

(Continued on Page 4)

Uncle Sam's Stock Exchange Hero: Chapter 2

When William McChesney Martin, president of the New York Stock Exchange, was recently drafted into the army, the boss press made quite a to-do about it.

Martin, it was pointed out, wasn't going to seek any special privileges. He was going to be a foot-slogging, gun-toting, potato-peeling private He was getting ready for the firing lines.

The newspapers haven't talked much about Martin in the past few weeks. They aren't publishing any more pictures of him engaged in his army duties.

A close-up of William McChesney Martin at his present army tasks would not show him drilling at Fort Dix. He isn't there any more! He's moved to comfortable Fort Jay, Governors Island, sitting behind a desk, the place he feels at home. No favoritism—Oh no!

14,000 Soldiers Stage Fort Dix Demonstration

Furloughs Denied, Soldiers Hurl Rocks At Headquarters; Papers Suppress Story

The 14,000 soldiers from Fort Dix whose 10-day furloughs had been cancelled at the last moment on May 29, and who staged violent, rock-heaving protest demonstrations after hundreds had been halted at railway stations and ordered back to camp, have now been promised their full furloughs on their return from maneuvers and training inspection.

The big dailies cooperated with authorities in suppressing the story of the demonstrations.

The New York *Daily News*, the only newspaper to carry accounts of the demonstrations, reported on May 31 as follows:

SOLDIERS STAGE VIOLENT PROTEST

"Fourteen thousand soldiers from Fort Dix, with 10-day furloughs in their pockets suddenly had their leaves cancelled last night as they headed home for the Memorial Day week end. Hundreds were halted at railroad stations and other points and ordered to return to camp. Enraged, they returned to the fort and staged demonstrations which officers appeared helpless to check.

"Rocks were hurled at post headquarters; there were demonstrations in mess halls and other scenes of disorder developed. Long into the night wrathful groups prowled the reservation, defying military police to curb them.

"The order cancelling the leaves came from the War Department. Those who had already left Fort Dix were stopped by M. P.'s and relieved of their passes. They were told to get back to camp post haste . . .

"Many of the men were still at the fort, but hundreds already were in trains, buses or private autos. When they got back to camp they were furious.

FIRST DEMONSTRATE IN MESS HALL

"The first demonstrations came at mess. Many refused to eat. They banged their tin mess kits and set up a general din which went unchecked.

"Later they began parading the reservation, bellowing their displeasure. Windows were smashed in the officers' club, post headquarters and other buildings. As far as could be learned no arrests were made."

New York *Daily News* reporters who confronted the camp commander, Major General Powell, for a statement on the demonstrations were assured that there hadn't been any "real trouble."

However, Powell was compelled to confirm the fact that there had been "some trouble" and stated:

"I have received information there were a few isolated cases of window breaking, but that was all."

All metropolitan newspapers, outside of the "isolationists" *Daily News*, reported the cancellation of the leaves, but suppressed completely the story of the soldiers' militant demonstrations.

Ammunition Uses

"Congressman J. Parness Thomas said that, at Fort Dix, there was a 'deplorable state' in that there was no reserve supply of ammunition and not enough small arms ammunition to deal with an internal disorder."—New York Times, June 3.

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

How Chiselers Avoid Paying Overtime Under The Wage-Hour Act

EDITOR:

Here is some information about the way employers get around what is politely called the "intent" of the Wage-Hour Act.

A variable work-week plan is operated as follows. The employer hires new employees—or rehires his old employees—on the basis of getting "the week's job done" and not on the basis of a fixed number of hours. Payment is by the week, hence as hours *increase*, hourly wages *decrease*; consequently the *base* on which overtime payment are figured grows smaller the more overtime is worked.

Here is an example, which shows how much the employer can chisel by using the variable work-week plan. Suppose he has been operating on an eight-hour day basis, paying $25 for a 40 hour week, or $.625 per hour. His men are getting in a lot of overtime, which has to be paid for at the rate of $.9375 per hour. He has a happy thought and rehires his employees — or at least hires all new employees (which in course of time will mean most of his employees) — on the basis of a flat $25 per week, without any understanding as to hours (except for the time that work is to start in the morning). The Wage-Hour Act requires him to pay an additional half-hour's wage for each hour over 40, but the more hours worked in a week, under this plan the lower the overtime rate becomes, because the hourly rate goes down.

I don't think this variable work-week plan is being used extensively *yet*, because it involves more bookkeeping, but bookkeeping after all is designed for finegling extra money, so the plan will get more use as employers get wise to it. The minimum wage plan is also perfectly legal. In other words, an employer who has customarily had a work-week of, say, 56 hours, and finds he has to pay overtime on 16 of those hours, can re-figure his hourly wage so that he won't have to pay any more wages per week than he did before he complied with the Act; the only restriction is that he can't go below a 30c. an hour minimum.

The way to cope with businesses that try to use this scheme to cut down on overtime payment is, of course, a union contract that defines the work-week and contains an hourly wage stipulation. Some liberals thought that the Wage-Hour Act would be a substitute for unions in small businesses which are hard to organize. Precisely such small businesses, however, are most apt to use such legal devices as the above to get around the Wage-Hour Act.

INDUSTRIAL ENGINEER

Rubber Workers Win Wage Increases When They Reject First Offer

EDITOR:

I read your report in the May 17 MILITANT about the membership meeting of the Goodrich Local of the United Rubber Workers (CIO) here in Akron, on May 11, when the members gave such a cold reception to Sherman Dalrymple, the international's president, and refused to go along with him and accept the company's measly offer for the new contract.

You may be interested to learn the results of the militant stand taken by the workers at that meeting. As soon as the workers showed they meant business by taking a strike vote, and sending back the negotiations committee with instructions to get more than the three cents an hour increase the company offered, the company came through with an offer of a blanket five cents an hour increase and a 4½ cents raise on the base rate of piece work.

If the workers had listened to the cowardly advice of Dalrymple, they would have accepted terms which would have meant practically no increases at all.

As it is, the final terms, which the members approved at a mass meeting, are not at all to the real liking of the workers. I am sure that if terrific pressure had not been put on the local officials by the international officers, particularly Dalrymple, the workers would have gone through with their planned strike and would undoubtedly have won far better terms.

At the last membership meeting the local officials had to plead almost feverishly with the members in order to get a favorable vote for the five cents increase. And even then, none of the local officers dared to claim that the terms were good.

Dalrymple again did the dirty work in forcing the company's terms down the workers' throats. The whole appeal was on "national defense," "aid to 'our' ally, Great Britain," etc.

Well, the Goodrich workers have seen the results of what a little militancy could bring them if they had been permitted to follow their own instincts, and if the local leaders had not weakened, they would have got a great deal more, I am certain.

RUBBER WORKER

Akron, Ohio.

Charges Stalinists Beat Up Student For Leaving Y.C.L

EDITOR:

Harvard students have recently received an object lesson in the meaning of Stalinism. At three o'clock in the morning, May 17th two Harvard Y.C.L.'ers entered the room of Murray Lampert, a fellow-student. Lampert, who had previously been threatened with physical assault by these and other Y.C.L'ers, realized their purpose and remonstrated with them in the darkness for about three minutes. They did not answer, hoping — to no avail, however — that they would not be recognized. Finally, as Lampert stretched forth his hand to put on the light, the Y. C. L'ers threw hot water into his face, blinding him, and then proceeded to beat him. Although Lampert protected himself by holding his hands in front of his face, the blows were of such violence that he was dazed for a few minutes, while the Stalinists unscrewed an electric-light bulb and shattered it on the floor, preventing him from following them in his bare feet as they made their escape. Next day, when Lampert spoke to the parties concerned, he was told to keep quiet about the affair or he would get worse.

What was Lampert's crime which aroused the Stalinists' animosity? He had been a member of the Young Communist League, had come to see the wrongness of the Stalinist course, stated his conviction of the degeneration of the Comintern and fraternized with members of the Socialist Workers Party. To question the official Stalinist mythology — this was sacrilege. Old friends refused to greet him, he was viciously slandered to his acquaintances, a systematic campaign of character-assassination was carried on. For Lampert was a dangerous example — he might set others to questioning, to thinking independently, or even actually to reading Trotskyist literature. Each Stalinist proved his loyalty to the organization and stifled whatever doubts or misgiving he might have had by the bitterness of his attack.

This was the poisonous atmosphere out of which the assault developed. Almost certainly the two Y. C. L'ers acted on their own initiative, probably in an instant of sheer inspiration. Even the local Y. C. L. is not capable of such stupidities. However, the physical attack on Lampert was merely a continuation "on a higher level" of the previous attacks on his character. Stalinism is the school of which these two students are the worthy graduates — and it is Stalinism which is guilty of this cowardly attack.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

P. S.

Reason For Lag In 'National Defense'

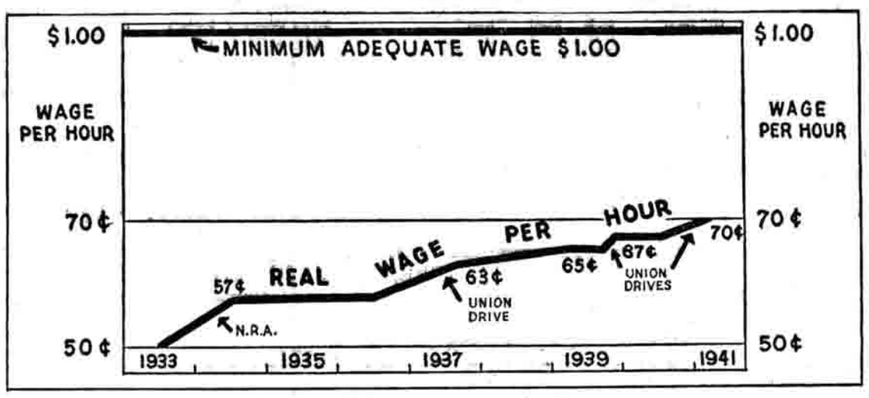
Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, addressing a New York state health conference on May 20, declared:

"In 1940 disability took 50 times the losses due to strikes and lockouts. Though little discussed, this is the single greatest factor slowing up the production schedule."

Working time lost through illness and injuries, according to Dr. Parran, reaches the total of 350,000,000 work-days per year.

However, the boss press and politicians haven't the time to notice—they are too busy with "important" problems of "national defense"—anti-strike laws, curbs on organized labor, bigger sales taxes and the like.

WAGES FAR BELOW ADEQUATE LIVING STANDARD



Source: U. S. Department of Labor.

This chart, based on Department of Labor figures, shows two things: 1. that wages rise in direct relation to the strike struggles of the workers; 2. that despite the wage increases won in the past six years by the militant strikes of the workers, average hourly wages are still far below the $1 per hour minimum which the government agency concedes is necessary for a minimum living standard.

FBI Seeking Wiretapping Authority From Congress

Is Already Training Army Of Wiretappers; Would Use Them In Attacks On Labor, As The Same J. Edgar Hoover Did In 1918

Now pending in the House of Representatives are two bills which would authorize the F.B.I. and other police agencies to engage in wiretapping. Representative Hobbs, sponsor of one of the bills, is also parent of the "concentration camp" bill for aliens.

The bill which he introduced was drafted by Alexander Holtzoff, legal advisor to the F.B.I. and has the approval of the Department of Justice.

The threat to the labor movement in such legislation is clear to those acquainted with the use made of wiretapping in the past.

In the last war, although wiretapping was supposedly illegal, the Department of Justice practiced it freely.

THE F.B.I.'S LONG ANTI-LABOR RECORD

For every case of espionage and treason prosecuted against German agents or sympathizers there were hundreds of raids against "reds" and militant workers. The campaign of intimidation, mass raids and strike breaking, with wiretapping as one of its main weapons was directed at that time by the same J. Edgar Hoover who now heads the F.B.I. Nor did he stop when peace came.

On January 3rd, 1920, some three thousand workers and radicals were arrested simultaneously in a score of cities. In many cases these people were held for questioning, treated brutally (some committed suicide or went insane) without the pretense of a warrant of arrest. Much of the information, often false and worthless, leading to such raids was obtained through wiretapping.

J. Edgar Hoover, as special assistant to the Attorney General in charge of "counter-radical activities," directed and played a leading role in the strikebreaking activities of the Department of Justice agents in the 1919 steel strike, and the coal and railway strikes of that period. And this is the man who would be given free rein in wiretapping by the Hobbs bill!

The function of wiretapping to obtain information for use against workers, and expose their union activity and political affiliations, was revealed by J. Edgar Hoover himself in a Congressional hearing last year. In admitting the use of wiretapping he said he did not use in court evidence thus obtained. BUT he "supplies information to employers on criminal or *subversive* records of potential employees." (our emphasis).

F.B.I. TRAINING HUNDREDS OF WIRETAPPERS

Without even waiting for the law to be passed, the F.B.I. today conducts schools for training in wiretapping, not only for their own agents but for hundreds of local police. To offset the bad odor attached to this practice, the F.B.I. has dignified the "pupils" by calling them "supervisors" or "wire technicians" and the eavesdropping itself is sometimes referred to as "surveillance."

Although Congress outlawed the use of wiretapping in 1934, the F.B.I., protected by its parent, the Department of Justice, blandly considers itself immune from the provisions of this law. In 1940, however, the authorities decided to seek Congressional sanction. The first Department of Justice bill was introduced in 1940 but killed in committee. Now, in the favorable war atmosphere, it has been re-introduced.

The sponsors stated in recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee that they were willing to limit the use of wiretapping to "kidnapping, extortion and violations of the espionage and sabotage laws." Not much of a limit! These last two categories can be used to apply to any worker engaged in war production, the majority of workers today. Last week, for example, THE MILITANT published the story of how the F.B.I. arrested Charles Virok, a SWOC shop steward in the John Roebling Sons Co. New Jersey plant, on charge of violating the Federal Anti-Sabotage Act by allegedly closing switches controlling the power blocks "with intent to obstruct the defense of the United States." The charge against Virok resulted from a strike, and similar charges can be made to cover any strike action. Under the terms of the bill the F.B.I. could tap the wires of any union headquarters and home phones of union members.

Often the information obtained from wiretapping is not used in court against a victim. Not but it is used to keep him from getting a job, or to fire him, when his union connections are uncovered by this method. Wiretapping has proved invaluable to private detectives, "red" squads and anti-union employers. The National Labor Relations Board reported tapping of the wires of Ford employees at the Dallas, Texas plant. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, the wires of the Oil Workers International Union were tapped by private detectives and the Oklahoma National Guard to provide information to the oil companies about employees.

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported on wiretapping in 1940: "Persons who have committed no crime, but whose economic and political views and activities may be obnoxious to the present incumbents of law enforcement offices, are being investigated and catalogued... the information may be used in extra-legal controversies."

But that was in 1940. President Roosevelt, in stating his views on wiretapping in February, 1941, said: "As an instrument for oppression of free citizens I can think of none worse than indiscriminate wiretapping." The catch here is the word "indiscriminate." For Roosevelt immediately added that, in cases involving the "national defense," he considered wiretapping to be justified! And that of course, means a free hand for J. Edgar Hoover.

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War Chest Drive Starts Moving; First Returns In

Hardly has the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party been launched to raise a $10,000 War Chest fund when money begins to pour in. Almost a thousand dollars has reached the national center—and the drive has in reality hardly begun!

Here is a token of the spirit with which those who learned the great lessons of Lenin and Trotsky rise up to meet the demands that history makes upon them. While others either skulk cowardly in dark holes or leap hysterically on the wagon to play in the band of the enemy class, the Trotskyists in true Bolshevik fashion prepare to play a leading part in the offensive of their class in the struggle already under way.

These $10,000 will be simply the surface evidence of the role of the Trotskyist movement in the life of the working class.

Watch the money come in!

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Cleveland	150.00	00.00	00
Youngstown	150.00	00.00	00
Louisiana	100.00	00.00	00
San Diego	100.00	00.00	00
Akron	50.00	00.00	00
Fresno	50.00	00.00	00
Rochester	50.00	00.00	00
Toledo	50.00	00.00	00
Pittsburgh	40.00	00.00	00
Allentown	25.00	00.00	00
Seattle	25.00	00.00	00
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CONCENTRATE ON SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subscriptions for May from the branches reached only 78, but we have good reason to believe that the record for June will go much beyond that.

The city of St. Paul led off this month with nine six-month subscriptions, although Los Angeles, the runner-up with eight, beat out St. Paul in the amount of money represented. Minneapolis came in third with seven subscriptions, for the first time in a dog's age feeling how it is not to come in way ahead.

One of our surest guarantees of continued support from subscribers comes from the fact that we put out so good a labor paper that it solicits renewal by itself. "In this crisis, more than ever, we need a paper such as THE MILITANT, which talks common sense and prints the news behind the news," writes one of our renewing subscribers in the note accompanying his payment.

The role of the party press as an organizer is seen in a few reports which have come to us in recent days. Boston sends in a subscription which it reports as having been received as a result of consistent door-to-door work on the part of the comrades there. Philadelphia reports that the coverage given a strike in a plant in its neighborhood induced one of the leading strikers to kick in with the price of a year's sub.

GETTING PARTY MEMBERS THROUGH THE PRESS

But Allentown has the best report of all to make. As a result of the consistent and devoted work of a few members there who have attended to the job of literature distribution with Bolshevik tenacity, they now find themselves rewarded in the finest way a worker in the movement can hope for.

In a few weeks they will find their membership substantially increased by the coming in of a number of new workers who have been drawn to the party and given an understanding of its principles through the literature supplied them over a number of months by the Allentown unit. We can understand how these comrades feel when they say that the experience of seeing their group thus begin to grow is a "pleasure incomparable."

The record of subscriptions for May stands thus:

Allentown	1
Baltimore	1
Boston	3
Buffalo	2
Cleveland	1
Detroit	4
Los Angeles	8
Minneapolis	7
Newark	1
New Castle	2
New York	5
Plentywood	1
Philadelphia	1
Rochester	3
St. Louis	1
St. Paul	9
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Seattle	2
Tacoma	1
Texas	2
Toledo	2
Youngstown	3
Miscellaneous	17

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Left Jabs

By CORT

ANOTHER HALIFAX VICTORY

By May 28th all the British fronts in Crete had broken and the Imperial forces were in full flight toward the southern coast and another Dunkirk. On May 29th Lord Halifax told the American press that "the lessons of his attack upon the Island of Crete probably will deter Adolf Hitler from attempting an invasion of the British Isles."

Whether he is delivering the Czechs to Hitler at Munich, or the Tommies and Greeks to Hitler at Crete, Halifax always sees "peace" or "victory." His Lordship is like the horse that ran into the tree... "he ain't blind, he just don't give a damn."

* * *

WAR FOR DEMOCRACY?

"Personally I am of the opinion that it is dead wrong to harass the . . . Polish government-in-exile by making the Jewish question the all important issue." — Ludwig Lore (N. Y. *Post*, May 29).

Maybe it's not the all-important issue for Lore—but how about the rest of us who don't like anti-Semitism under either a Polish or a Nazi label.

HILLMAN PROVES INNOCENCE

Last week Harvey Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists, told a Senate committee that Sidney Hillman had sent a man to the Pacific Coast to "aid and stimulate the strike" at the Vultee Aircraft Company. This was the first time, since Hillman joined the government, that anyone had accused him of aiding a strike, so you can imagine how upset he was.

When Hillman sat down to write a reply to Brown's dastardly charge, such phrases ran through his head as "saboteur," "provocateur," and "Fifth columnist." But then he remembered the dignity of his position as co-director of the OPM and he wrote a message possessing all the restraint of a State Department communique.

"On November 15, 1940," he wrote, "I sent Arnold Tolles, a member of the staff of the National Defense Advisory Commission, to the West Coast to seek an END of the Vultee strike."

It's nice to have the record straight.

* * *

LIFE'S SO SIMPLE

The British continue to lay their defeat in Crete partly to the fact that the German parachutists wore Australian uniforms thus making it difficult to tell friend or foe. Strange what the color of a suit of clothes can mean. If a man is dressed in brown . . . he's your friend. If he's dressed in green . . . he's an enemy and must be killed.

Life grows simpler all the time.

* * *

YES, JESUS WAS NO PACIFIST

"I ask you to remember that your saviour forgave the sins of the flesh, but one sin that He never forgave was the sin of neutrality." — Bishop Hunter Wyatt Brown (N. Y. *Post*, May 28).

That's right. Jesus drove the money-changers from the temple—remember, Bishop?

* * *

EQUALITY IN BRITAIN

Starting this week clothing will be rationed in Britain, and, according to the Associated Press, "the duds of a Duke or a dock worker will require the same amount of coupons."

They don't, however, require the same amount of coppers.

* * *

Clothes rationing is nothing new for the British workers, anyway. They've been doing it for years. They hardly need a book of coupons to tell them how little they can buy.

* * *

"Tests at Fort Bragg, N. C., show Negroes can see better at night than white soldiers." (N. Y. *Post*, May 28).

This discovery may open to the Negro many jobs previously closed to him. Now the Army will let him drive trucks at night and serve as air-raid spotter.

Imagine, however, the phenomenal and super-human powers the Negro would have to develop to become a General in Roosevelt's "democratic" army.

Stalinist Won't Join Negro March Committee

Newark Stalinist Leader Won't Cooperate In Organizing Negro March On Washington

NEWARK, N. J. — At the organizational meeting last Wednesday of the Newark committee to sponsor the Negro March to Washington to protest against discrimination in the armed forces and in industry, Elwood Dean, local Negro Stalinist figure, refused on a flimsy pretext to accept a place on the committee.

The Negro March on Washington is scheduled for July 1.

After B. F. McLaurin, an official of the Brotherhood of Pullman Car Porters, representing the national office of the committee sponsoring the march, had spoken on the purposes and proposed organizational steps of the project, Dean, who was present representing a Negro youth federation interested in the march, rose to ask for some information.

He wanted to know what position the sponsoring committee had taken on the question of war. McLaurin answered, stating that all Negroes are opposed to the war but indicating that the committee had not taken any position on the question, confining its declarations and activities more or less generally to the job of organizing the march as an expression of protest against Jim Crowism in the armed forces and industry.

Dean then replied that he would not serve on the committee because he was interested only in "peace movements and movements that took a clear stand for peace."

It should be noted, incidentally, that Dean was not in this case expressing the views of the youth federation he was supposed to represent.

STALINISTS AGAINST MARCH

The Communist Party has kept quiet on the question of the march. Its press has not even mentioned it. It becomes obvious from the position of Dean, who is not a minor figure, that this silence is not accidental, and that the Stalinists are not going to aid this protest action at all.

The argument about "peace movements" was obviously a fake, dragged in by Dean to justify his stand. Stalinists do not refuse to functions in trade unions just because they have not declared for "peace." If they were to do so, they would find themselves systematically boycotting work in many sections of the mass movement which are for the time being under a reactionary leadership.

Indeed, if class conscious and militant workers, Negro and white, were to follow this kind of policy, it would result in forever leaving the workers in such organizations completely under the domination and influence of the reactionaries.

WE SUPPORT MARCH

The Socialist Workers Party takes a completely different attitude. It does not follow, and it strongly condemns, the policy so often employed by the Communist Party of refusing support to a movement just because the Stalinists don't control it. On the contrary, we Trotskyists offers full support to all progressive movements.

The March on Washington is fundamentally a progressive movement in that it is an ACTION against Jim Crowism. Because of this, we are wholeheartedly for its support by Negro and white workers.

This does not mean that we are in agreement with every idea in the heads of its sponsors, or that we agree with all the proposals for the march put forward by them. We have stated our criticism of some of these proposals in this paper for many weeks and have urged the marchers to adopt a program of militant demands to strengthen the protest against Jim Crowism.

But in spite of our disagreements on some questions, we are 100% for the march and are ready to support it in every way we can.

The Stalinist press has been silent on this question because they know that they will find it hard to explain to their followers opposition to a march of this nature. But their silence, like Dean's declaration, is evidence that their policies are not based on the best interests of the Negro and white masses. In this cowardly and treacherous manner they are trying to maintain the fiction that only the Stalinist bureaucrats are interested in the struggles of the Negro people.

(See Negro Column, page 5)

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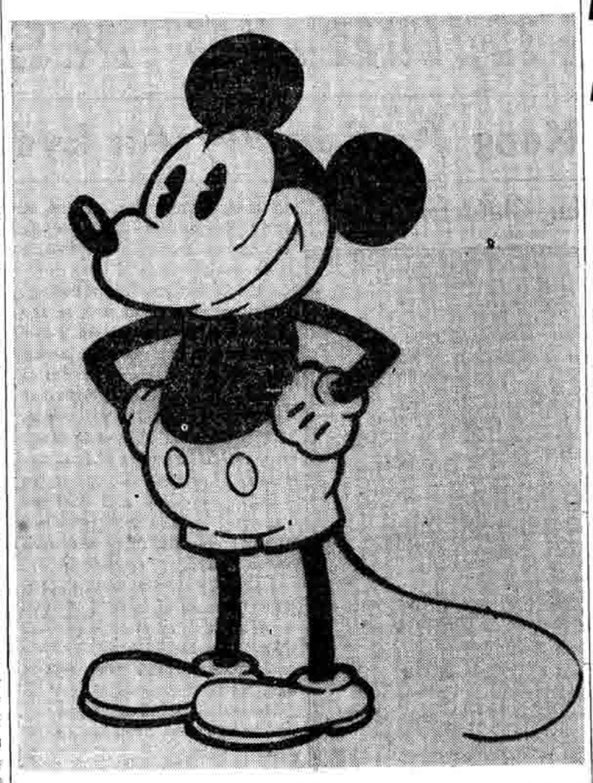


Members of the Screen Cartoonists Guild (AFL), employed by the Disney Studios, producers of "Mickey Mouse," "Donald Duck" and other animated cartoon films, are out on strike demanding recognition of their union and reinstatement of five workers fired for union activities. Mickey Mouse is on the picket line!

Harlem Shows The Price Negro Pays For Jim Crow

While Barred From Booming War Industries And Better Jobs, Negroes Are Compelled To Pay More Rent Than White People

By MYRA WARD

What is the price the Negro pays for being barred from jobs in the war industries?

A glimpse at conditions in Harlem will indicate concretely how the Negro pays.

It means that his average income remains just about what it was in 1936, when the report of Mayor LaGuardia's own commission (which was suppressed by all the boss papers) revealed that half the Negro families living in Harlem must exist on incomes below $837 a year! And these are not the people on relief, but the bulk of Negro workers, porters, janitors, factory employees in menial capacities, etc.

The proportion of this $16 a week total income which a Negro family in Harlem must pay for rent ranges from 30 to 60 per cent. Rents are relatively twice as high for the Negro as for his white neighbors. (Frequently Negro tenants, moving into apartments formerly occupied by whites, find that whereas the Negroes must pay $45 and $50 dollars monthly, receipts show previous tenants to have paid only $23 and $25). And rents are going up during the war boom.

In the expanding district of north Harlem, landlords often induce white tenants to remain by lowering their rent. Then, as soon as the pressure of expansion has created an acute housing shortage in the area, the landlords oust the white tenants so that they can rent the apartments to Negroes at a much higher rate.

Landlords are anxious to avoid "mixed" apartment houses. Blacks and whites might voice grievances in common against the landlord. The ruling class is anxious to prevent the Negro and white workers from realizing that their problems and enemies are common ones. Thus we have Jim-Crowism in housing, as in industry and the army. Segregation is the method by which the capitalists keep Negro and white workers from uniting.

It is usually impossible for the Negro in Harlem to move to other sections of the city because they are closed to him.

Brief and sporadic rent strikes have been attempted recently in Harlem to force landlords to remedy conditions. Such actions indicate the acuteness of the problem and the growing realization of Harlemites that only militant action can accomplish anything.

Most Harlem families are forced, on account of high rent and low income, to take in lodgers. The last census so far published (1930) revealed that 40 per cent of the families in Harlem took in from one to four boarders.

Naturally the landlords benefit from this condition. In one 7th Avenue apartment, a landlord rented 7-room apartments to two or three families and filled them with lodgers in open violation of the multiple dwelling law. This meant twelve to fifteen people in one apartment sharing one toilet. Since the majority of the roomers were on relief and received a rent voucher of $16 each, the landlord made anywhere from $100 to $200 monthly out of each apartment!

High rents have led to conditions of overcrowding unknown to the rest of the country. West Harlem, according to the 1936 report submitted to Mayor LaGuardia, is the most crowded dwelling section *in the world!* A single block north of 142nd St. between 7th and Lenox Avenues has a population of 3,871 persons!

The Building Service Employees Union reports that, out of 9,000 Harlem janitors, 7,000 live in cellars and receive either no wages whatsoever or a mere pittance.

Such is part of the price the Negro must pay. These are some of the results of his being kept from jobs in war industries. These are the reasons behind the coming march of Negroes on Washington, to demand an end to discrimination.

Honeywell Plant Closed By Minneapolis Strikers

Tired Of Mediation Run-Around, Electrical Instrument Workers Walk Out, Demanding A Contract, Seniority And Grievance Setup

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Workers at the Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. staged a spontaneous walkout here May 21, follow more than two months of state and federal mediation that had failed to impress the anti-labor firm that the workers meant business. The strikers, members of the CIO United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, Local 1145, are demanding a contract to cover members, seniority, and grievance machinery.

The incident which provoked the walkout was the "disciplinary suspension" of a union worker without redress, but it was only the spark which set off a powder keg of discontent which has been brewing for years. The workers, led by their shop committee, decided the time had come to give the company a demonstration of union power.

The next day a mass picket line formed at the plant gates. The cops tried to lay down "rules of etiquette" for the strikers, but their partiality toward the finks brought sharp reproaches from the pickets, who closed ranks after a few finks had been helped into the plant by the cops. Before noon, the company dismissed these finks as it is useless to operate the highly integrated plant without all hands.

Union carpenters, working on construction, went into the plant to get their tools and demonstrated their solidarity with the strikers by marching out in procession, their toolkits high on their shoulders. They got a big hand from the pickets.

The company union, which has claimed a majority of the workers demonstrated its impotence that day.

THE COMPANY'S GAME

Minneapolis-Honeywell, manufacturers of electrical instruments, is one of the few remaining open-shop firms in these parts, and has a long black record of discrimination, intimidation and coercion against workers who have sought to organize in the plant.

In January of this year, a trial examiner for the NLRB handed down a decision favorable to the union, finding overwhelming evidence of anti-union activity on the part of the company. The company appealed and the case was argued before the NLRB on April 10th. Its decision has not, however, been announced yet.

In February a company union began signing up workers in the plant during working hours. In March Local 1145 served notice of intention to strike.

GOVERNOR HELPS COMPANY

Under Stassen's Minnesota Slave Law, workers must wait ten days after deciding to strike, while the state labor conciliator tries to reach a settlement. If no settlement is reached in ten days, the governor may invoke the "public interest" clause of the act (and he invariably does), calling for a thirty-day extension of the waiting period. During this period, an "impartial" commission of three, appointed by the governor, holds hearings and makes recommendations for settling the dispute.

This is the law that Senator Ball, Stassen appointee, is trying to palm off in Congress as a cooling-off proposal. In this case it has set the workers aflame. The commission was packed to start with. An affidavit of prejudice filed by the union was ignored by the governor. The commission submitted a thoroughly vicious report against the union, as was expected. But its recommendation to the union that it go into a boss court and secure an injunction rather than strike was a sad underestimation of the militancy and intelligence of the workers.

MEDIATION RUN-AROUND

On April 22, the deadline set for the strike, and with settlement as far away as ever, Federal Conciliator Steelman entered the picture. He wired a request for postponement of the strike, injecting the issue of "national defense" (Honeywell has a few government contracts). The union membership voted strike action, leaving the actual date for the walkout in the hands of its committee of 43. Steelman's agent accomplished nothing and the strike committee set April 28 as the deadline.

Then came a wire from the National Mediation Board, requesting representatives of both sides to be in Washington May 5 and 6. The union complied, but prepared to strike May 6. The panel which held the hearings in Washington was fully as biased as the state board had been, prompting Ed Larson of the of the negotiating committee to score Wyzanski chairman of the commission and a corporation attorney.

He had been reminding Wyzanski that the union had set a deadline for the strike. Wyzanski replied, "We have a deadline with a man across the water, too."

"Do we have to sacrifice everything we came down here for, because you have an appointment with a man across the water?" demanded Larson.

This incident, when reported to the union membership, was greeted with tremendous applause, a convincing demonstration of the workers' anti-war sentiment.

Late in the afternoon of May 6, at the strike deadline, the company broke down. It agreed to negotiate with the union, and signed an agreement providing for collective bargaining, agreement to outlaw the company union through the NLRB, confirmation of the trial examiner's report calling for reinstatement of eight workers with back pay, and cease and desist notice posting by the company, plant election AFTER the status of the company union has been determined, and provision for federal mediation. The union accepted it and negotiations for a contract were in progress when the company, in bad faith, provoked the walkout.

JUDGE HELPS COMPANY

The company secured a sweeping injunction against the union, claiming it had violated the agreement and that it had not served notice with the governor of intention to strike. The workers, elated over the success of the hastily called walkout, and confident they could do it again if necessary, voted to return to work. But next day they were locked out by the company. Company officials sanctimoniously asserted that they wanted to prevent any violence to their workers.

The solicitude of people who took club in hand and went into the market in 1934 to beat up striking truck drivers (but came back broken and bleeding) is something to warm the cockles of your heart . . . or are they impressed at last? The strike front was comparatively calm Thursday, as it always is when workers are solid and determined, and the finks aren't.

A special agent has been sent here to "aid" in the negotiations. The workers will be patient, of course. But they are lifting eyebrows, too, and if there should be a more congenial attitude on the company's part now, they are very likely to suspect that the government didn't have a thing to do with it, but that they, men and women, fighting shoulder to shoulder on the picket line, accomplished that all by themselves.

Minneapolis Drivers Mobilize For Showdown

(Continued from page one)

this union will allow itself to be cut to pieces.

"THE MEMBERSHIP AND THE LEADERSHIP MUST PREPARE FOR EVERY POSSIBLE EVENTUALITY, FOR EVERY CONCEIVABLE ATTACK UPON THIS UNION."

Dunne wound up his report to stormy applause when he pointed to the huge sign at his left and declared: "If I am any judge, I believe you will tell this union leadership that we made Minneapolis a Union Town, and that we will keep it that way."

BOSS STOOGES REPUDIATED

In the discussion period following Dunne's report, representatives of insignificant opposition cliques within the union endeavored to attack the policies of the 544 leadership. They included spokesmen for the discredited Committee of 99, led by job-hunting sore-heads without any program, who are encouraged and utilized by employer-enemies of the union In general agreement with them was a speaker for the Stalinist-inspired "Committee for Unity and Democracy."

The membership unmistakeably expressed their opinion of these boss stooges by boos and hisses that almost drowned out their remarks. The Chairman had to intervene to allow them to be heard.

The membership voted complete approval to a resolution endorsing the actions of the leadership and empowering the Executive Board to take whatever action was necessary to win the union's demands. So overwhelming was the flood of solidarity that even the boss stooges were afraid to oppose the unanimous adoption of the resolution.

Tobin's editorial has been used by the employer-controlled press to attack the leadership of Local 544 in its present struggle against the bosses. The boss press has interpreted the editorial attack to mean that Tobin is demanding the heads of the 544 leadership. The employers are obviously counting on the "removal" of the militant leaders and their replacement by stooges who will be easy to handle.

The Executive Board of Local 544 has met Tobin's attack with flat defiance in a statement which concludes as follows:

"The names, the record, the ideas and the general attitude of the leading staff of Local 544, collectively and individually, are and have been no secret to anybody, including President Tobin. Everybody knows who they are, what they stand for and what they have done. The employers and their agents know this leadership and so do the members of the union and the entire labor movement of the Northwest. Each has decided his attitude toward the leadership of Local 544 accordingly. We stand on our record before the membership and remain as before subject to its control.

"The present leadership of Local 544 has been elected by the membership in a free and democratic election. It is the same leadership which has stood at the head of the movement during and since the great strike struggles of 1934. It has led the struggle against all the enemies of the workers, a struggle which has gained for the workers substantial increases in wages, regulation of their hours, seniority rights and general working conditions second to none in the entire country and superior to most. For seven years the members have consistently supported the leadership and indicated their desire to keep them at the head of the movement in the face of direct and indirect attacks from all sources.

544 BOARD ANSWERS TOBIN

"Nobody can change this leadership, in whole or in part, except the membership which placed its confidence in them and elected them to their posts. Local 544 believes in trade union democracy. It is opposed to personal dictatorship.

"On its part, the Executive Board intends to continue the constructive work that it has carried on from the very beginning. The record shows that we have always tried to conduct our trade union activities within the framework of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the American Federation of Labor. The record also shows that our activities have greatly benefited and strengthened these bodies. We hope that no arbitrary and dictatorial action will be taken to prevent us from continuing our work along these lines."

POLITICAL ATTACK ON 544

The boss attack upon the Minneapolis Teamsters movement is taking place during a hot mayoralty campaign. The victory of the candidates of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union in the recent primaries, and the defeat of the present Mayor Leach, have put the employers in a cold sweat. They are mortally afraid that the labor slate will win the general elections on Monday, June 9th and that the bosses' control over the city government and police department will be weakened.

The bosses' candidate for Mayor, Marvin L. Kline, has been working together with Governor Stassen in an endeavor to terrorize, discredit and hamstring the teamsters' movement. Referring to the strike notices sent out by Local 544 last week, Kline asked, "Who is going to deal with it; the candidate of the Dunne's or one who would have our laws work to the fullest to see that each side receives fair treatment? The workers of Minneapolis don't want to turn back control to those who made our streets a shambles of rioting in the strikes of 1934."

Kline is aspiring to play the same bloody strikebreaking hole as Mayor Bainbridge and his police chief, "Bloody Mike" Johannes, who were responsible for shooting 52 strikers on July 20, 1934.

In his speech to 544's members V. R. Dunne challenged Kline's provocative statements by reminding Kline and the Associated Industries behind him that the situation today is far less favorable to their union-smashing efforts than it was in 1934. "Today the bosses don't say they won't meet with a Union committee, that we haven't got a Union, that the union can't represent the inside workers on the market and in the warehouses — but they DO say, through Kline and other boss men that the Union leadership is no good, that the members must get rid of the union leadership, intimating that then the bosses will deal with the union."

As the city campaign goes into its last week, it looks as though the labor slate has the edge on winning the elections, despite the cowardly campaign conducted by T. A. Eide, labor candidate for mayor.

STALINISTS' FOUL ROLE

After their candidate, Al Hansen, was eliminated in the primaries, the Hennepin County Central Committee of the Farmer-Labor Association dominated by the Stalinists has refused to endorse either of the two candidates running for Mayor. By defaulting, the Stalinist group offer objective support to the boss candidate, Kline, and may be responsible, if the labor candidate is defeated, so close is the race at this stage.

Kline, incidentally, is quoting Al Hansen's own campaign words against Local 544's leadership. Hansen received only about 6,000 votes in the primaries on his union-baiting slander.

Delegations from Local 544 and from the Teamsters Joint Council left for Washington this weekend to appear before the Executive Board meeting of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters on Tuesday, June 3rd.

The entire labor movement of Minneapolis and the Northwest, together with drivers' locals throughout the nation, are awaiting the next moves in this tense situation.

British Rule In China Is As Vile As Japan's

The British Crown Colony Of Hong Kong As Seen By An Eyewitness; Even Fouler Than Shanghai!

(The writer of the following article has just returned from the Orient. His eyewitness report is especially valuable since the British censorship—plus the cooperation of the American bourgeois press—has made news of conditions in Hong Kong virtually unobtainable by wire or correspondence. The same is true of Shanghai, now virtually under complete control of the Japanese army.)

By PHILIP CHARLES

Under the guns of the British in Hong Kong, or the bayonets of the Japanese in Shanghai, the Chinese workers and coolies know only starvation, exploitation, disease and death.

If anything, and this may surprise you, conditions in Hong Kong, where there has been no actual warfare, are even worse than in Shanghai.

Even before I arrived in Hong Kong I got a hint of conditions there, from some Chinese seamen, who were being taken back to Hong Kong in the steerage of the boat I was on. These 140 Chinese seamen were being deported from San Francisco to Hong Kong. I got their story from one of them who could speak English.

He had been a cabin steward on the British luxury liner, Empress of Asia. When they arrived in Vancouver, British Columbia, they received notice that they would have to take the ship to England.

THESE CHINESE SAILORS DARED TO ASK MORE

They were being paid on the regular Pacific run $35 to $38 Mex per month. That's a little over $8 in American currency. They work a 12 hour day. Such wages and hours were almost unbelievable to me. American unlicensed sailors and firemen get between $90 and $100 a month for an ordinary run, working an eight hour day.

To induce the Chinese sailors to take the extremely dangerous run to England, the company offered them an increase to $50 Mex — making a wage of about $12 in our money, plus a bonus of about $18.

The Chinese sailors held a meeting on deck. They had no regular organization — it was just spontaneous. British "democracy" doesn't tolerate unions for Chinese seamen. They made a demand for $75 Mex and a bonus of $75 gold. That's less than $90 a month. But the company turned them down, put them off the ship and sent them down to Frisco, from were they were deported on our American boat.

I asked the one who gave me the information, what would happen when they got back to Hong-Kong. He said they would be black-balled from any further jobs. Once a Chinese seaman in Hong Kong leaves a job for any reason, he is blacklisted.

He and his companions were planning to make their way to Free China, to try to get work in the labor camps somewhere between Canton and Hong Kong. I asked him how long the trip to the camps would be by train. He looked at me, puzzled. They were going by foot — a four to five days walk — and no guarantee of work when they did get there.

As I said, this gave me a hint of conditions under British 'democracy' in Hong Kong. But I was still completely unprepared for the real thing, when I did finally see it.

A LOVELY FACADE HIDES THE NATIVE QUARTER

As we approached Hong Kong we could see first of all the monuments of capitalism, the great banks, office buildings, warehouses, government buildings, that the British have erected around the water front. You have to climb over these buildings, so to speak, into the native quarters to see on what kind of foundation these great, modern buildings have been erected.

As we were being piloted through the mine fields in the harbor, we were met by scores of sampans and junks. The occupants of some were holding up crude signs with Chinese lettering. I asked someone what the signs read. "The're begging for food," I was told. I had never before seen such skinny and dried up human beings.

Later I found that the right to approach the ships and beg for food was a real "privilege." The junk owners fight for this right. It's an inducement for hauling cargo from the ships to the docks, at low pay. The companies make verbal contracts with the junk owners permitting them to beg food for this back-breaking toil. Only "privileged" individuals get these "contracts."

Suddenly a large, powerful motor boat, loaded with Sikhs, Britain's troops from India, drove full speed through the flimsy junks. Some were almost capsized. These junks carry whole families. I learned that there are many junks sunk this way, and many drownings as a result. But it's just a small example of the British officials' attitude to the Chinese natives. They look on them as less than dirt.

Then I got a whiff of the breeze from off-shore. We were still some distance from land. What a smell! Did you ever get a close-up smell of a dead rat? That's something of what it's like.

I soon found out what that smell was when I went through the native quarters. It's the smell of over a million human beings, crowded together in incredible filth, disease and hunger.

To look at the modern buildings down near the waterfront, you'd think you were in some American city. But observe the conditions of the natives for one day in this "Pearl of the Orient," and you know war couldn't do any worse.

THE DAILY LIFE OF BRITAIN'S "WARDS"

Hordes of coolies, workers, homeless refugee children swarm in the streets and alleyways. They live in the streets, cook and eat in the streets, sleep in the streets. They work to exhaustion for a few pennies a day. That's their life. Incredible physical labor for a few grains of rice.

I saw hundreds of these natives thronged around a warehouse looking for jobs. They appeared to be either youngsters or old men. You never see any of them who don't appear either youthful or old and broken down. It's because they age over-night from the hardships of their lives.

You see what the youngsters will look like in a few more years from the faces of the older men twisted, distorted and diseased. Their mouths are like black holes with a few rotten teeth or none at all. Their spines stick out like door knobs. I saw men who couldn't have weighed more than 90 or one hundred pounds carrying loads which almost crushed them to the earth. Keep in mind that this is the *ordinary* thing in this British colony.

I asked about the conditions of the coolies around the warehouses. One in a hundred manages to get work each day. They are under the well-known "shake-down" system, worked by the companies and British officials. They are paid $1.50 Mex a day, about 35 cents in our money. They have to pay back to the company stooges about one-third their pay for the privilege of getting this work.

Mere children do the heaviest type of hauling. I had a heavy trunk delivered to the shipping office. The company had it carried by two small lads — over a mile — for 20 cents Mex. When I gave them what to me was a small tip, they were completely dumbstruck.

You cannot imagine such hunger, in this great wealthy port under British rule. I was going down one street when a jewelry merchant handed out a bowl of rice through a grating on his shop window. Instantly there was a howling mob fighting for it. The bowl spilled in the street amidst all the dust and dung. Men, women and children scrambled for it on their knees. In a minute their wasn't a grain left on the street.

The children swarming the streets come up to you in crowds, begging and pleading. "Kumshaw — no pappa — no mamma," they repeat over and over.

BRITISH LAW AND ORDER SHIELDS ME FROM CHILDREN

One day I was walking down Ship Street with some American sailors. Ship Street is crowded with homeless children, packed together sleeping on the sidewalks, begging, trying to pick pockets. A group of these children began to come toward us. A Sikh --the high-caste Indians who serve as military police for the British in Hong Kong, who are the terror of the natives — came around the corner. Instantly the children drew back.

I was just entering a door of a restaurant, when one of the kids came up close to me. I saw the Sikh's knobby club swing sidewise and heard a sharp crack. The child was laid out on the sidewalk for a few seconds. Then he started to crawl back into the crowd. Just before he reached the group he turned his head and spat at the soldier. The other children looked on with faces distorted with hatred.

I turned angrily to the policeman. "You didn't have to do that. I could have handled these children." He bowed very low and said apologetically, "Yes, Master. Yes, Master."

Master! The lowest, vilest person is "master" provided he has a white skin.

I rode a rickshaw only once. I took one one day when I was lost. I went only a short way when I wanted to get off again. The rickshaw driver insisted on taking me to my destination, a matter of several miles. When we arrived his breath was coming in great heaves. Sweat was pouring down him and the veins stood out all over his body from his exertions. He asked me for 20 cents Mex, five cents in our money. I felt so bad I gave him an American dollar. He can live a month on it.

The life span of rickshaw drivers is five to seven years. Sooner or later their hearts just seem to explode. Incidentally, the rickshaw is not an old Chinese custom. It was introduced by the British.

WHAT BRITAIN DOES FOR ITS SUBJECTS

Incredible as it may seem, looking at this city with its great modern port and business section, clean water is unavailable to its million native inhabitants. There is no sanitation or water system in Hong Kong except in the few sections where the British and other foreigners live or do business. Cholera sweeps through the native quarters in wave after wave. There are scarcely any medical facilities or hospitalization. Those who get sick, lie on the streets and die.

The British have introduced a great "reform" in Hong Kong. They are now providing death compensation to the workers and coolies. When a rickshaw driver or a longshoreman dies, his family gets $10 Mex, $2.50 in our money, to bury him with.

It's easy to understand the reason for this generosity. The death rate from hunger and disease is so enormous, that the streets would be littered with corpses if this measure were not taken.

The evidences of war preparations are everywhere around the docks and the business sections. Sand-bag barricades are being erected around all the banks, government and office buildings. But there isn't much protection from air-raids afforded in the native quarters.

IMAGINE ASKING THESE COOLIES TO FIGHT FOR "DEMOCRACY"!

I did see a few air-raid shelters for the Chinese in the center of the city on one vacant lot. I counted about 10 of them, supposed to hold from 150 to 300 people. I don't believe there are shelters for more than 10,000 natives in this whole huge city. Those I did see were so flimsy I think a fire-cracker could blow them up.

There are posters everywhere reminding one of the war. One wide-spread poster reads, "Have you contributed for a British Bomber?" After seeing how the Chinese live in Hong Kong, you wonder if these signs aren't just a sample of the well-known British humor.

The British can expect little support from the natives of Hong Kong in their war efforts. The small Chinese merchant class, of course, are for the British. But not the workers and coolies. They are totally indifferent to the war, so far as giving aid to the British is concerned. They hate the British and they hate the Japanese. And they don't see any choice between the two.

On our way to Shanghai, as we entered the mouth of the Wangpoo River we saw a symbolic sight. On one side of the river, the British section of the International Settlement, loomed the gigantic oil tanks of the Standard Oil Company of China. On the opposite shore, the Japanese flags and pennants. What a constant temptation those oil tanks must be to the oil-starved Japanese military machine, which is in complete control, in actual fact, of Shanghai.

The general appearance of Shanghai is better than Hong Kong. The dwellings for the Chinese, terrible as they are, are much superior to those provided in the British port.

I observed that the Shanghai longshoremen seemed better dressed and stronger than those in Hong Kong. They wore cheap American style work clothes, and had some covering on their feet, a sort of thin cloth slipper.

I managed to talk to some of the longshoremen. They are the highest paid workers, getting about 80 cents a day, very high wages for Chinese workers. I learned that they are organized into a secret organization, and through it have been able to establish some sort of protection for themselves.

Conditions of the rickshaw drivers, on the other hand, seemed even worse in Shanghai than in Hong Kong, if that is conceivable. It was very cold in Shanghai when we arrived. One shivering rickshaw driver, dressed only in a ragged thin shirt, offered to take me a distance of three miles for about four cents in American money.

There was a transportation strike on in Shanghai when we arrived. All the trolleys and buses were tied up. There were 6,000 to 7,000 Chinese workers on strike, and they displayed marvelous solidarity.

The Japanese, British, French, Italian and American officials buried their differences with each other and ganged up on the striking workers and tried to break their strike. They couldn't get any Chinese workers to scab so they tried to use the White Russians for the job.

It hurt the prestige of the white imperialists to have to use white men to scab on Chinese workers. The workers won the strike, gaining a small wage increase.

It takes a lot of guts for the workers to strike in Shanghai. The streets are swarming with troops of all nations in the international settlement.

THE UNEASY HOLD OF THE JAPANESE CONQUEROR

In the Japanese-controlled sections, there are soldiers patrolling every block. And they have a reputation for being merciless to the Chinese on the slightest pretext. But this constant display of armed force is an indication of the extreme hostility with which the Japanese forces are surrounded in Shanghai, though they have controlled the city for four years.

Terrorism is going on all the time between the Japanese and Chinese. The day before we hit port four banks were blown up. The Japanese accused the Chinese and the Chinese accused the Japanese. The Japanese terrorists blew up seven cabarets and drinking places while we were there. This was in retaliation for the refusal of the Chinese girls to entertain them.

The discipline among the Japanese troops has become noticeably slack. It has always been a very rare sight to see a Japanese drunk. But I saw any number of drunken Japanese soldiers on the loose through the city.

One sign of the breakdown of discipline is the practice of these soldiers of invading places of entertainment and attacking the women and girls. I understand that the Japanese officers have tried to stop the drinking and terrorism, but can't succeed.

The Japanese troops feel very suppressed. Many of them have been away from their homes for years. They look tired and disgusted. They are in a constantly hostile atmosphere, scarcely ever seeing a friendly face or hearing a friendly voice.

I noticed their uniforms, which were worn and shabby. Among groups of troops marching down a street, I saw mismatched uniforms and worn equipment.

From all I could observe of the Japanese troops, they are plainly disgusted with the war, which has given them nothing of what they were promised by the Japanese rulers.

A SYMBOL OF THE RULE OF ALL IMPERIALISTS

I shall never forget one scene in the wealthier French section. I was lost one day in this section, on a block of nice looking apartment houses where the foreign whites and wealthier Chinese merchants live. I heard a moan beside me, and looking down saw a little Chinese girl sitting on the sidewalk crying.

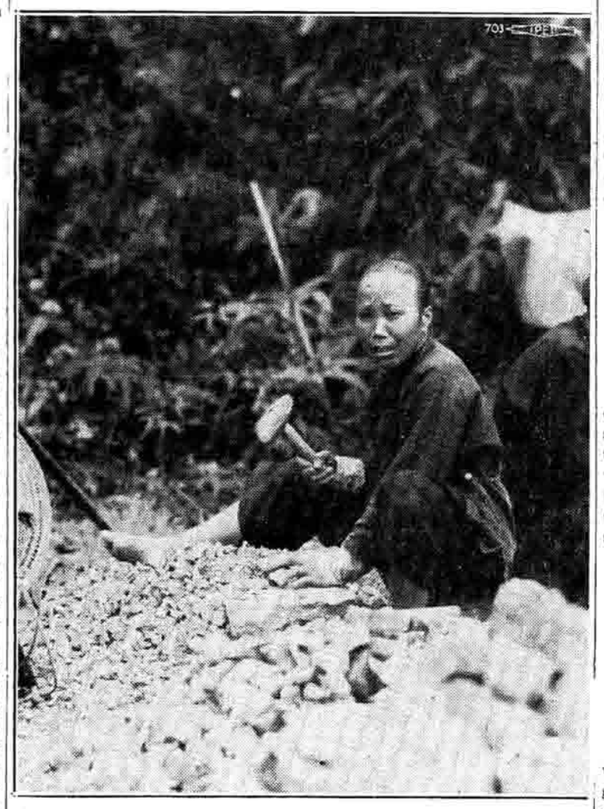
She was holding her leg. I looked closer and saw that her foot was covered with a hideous gangrenous infection. I stood watching her for half an hour. She was in obvious agony. I could do nothing for her. Many well-dressed people passed by during the time, and not one noticed her. They were completely indifferent. I finally went on, after leaving her some small change on the sidewalk. But she wasn't begging. She just left the money lying there and went on moaning.

That's the symbol of imperialist rule in China, — British, Japanese, French or American. Cold-blooded exploitation, and indifference to the vast suffering of the people. Once you see it with your own eyes, you will understand that the salvation of the Chinese people doesn't lie in the guns and bombs of any of the imperialist nations. British rule in Hong Kong or Japanese rule in Shanghai: It's the same misery for the Chinese masses.

China's Starving Children

This picture of a homeless Chinese refugee child in Hong Kong was secured by Philip Charles. The baby which the little girl is carrying on her back is one which she found abandoned on a roadside. The child has "adopted" the baby and is mothering it.

She Toils For Britain



This is one of the photographs brought back from Hong Kong by Philip Charles. This is a woman coolie at her task of breaking rocks for twelve hours a day. The meaning of British imperialism is clearly written in her face.

Eden Talk Bares Real War Aims

(Continued from page 1)

potential reformers in Germany, but they have always been able to impede the iniquitous habits and courses of the majority. Of course there have been and are Germans who may not have liked executing the programmes of their leaders, but with individuals we are not concerned; the fact remains that the programmes of their leaders always HAVE been executed."

A RACIAL THEORY, VICIOUS AS THAT OF THE NAZIS

Further developing this racial theory, twin to that of the Nazis, Vansittart says:

"Other people grew up and settled down. The Germans never did. Germans in the plural are The Brazen Horde. The Brazen Horde remained savages at heart. History tells it to you plainly. The *German* is often a moral creature; the *Germans* never; and it is the Germans who count. You will always think of Germans in the plural if you are wise.

"Lying and cheating have not been contrary to German honor. Perjury has not been contrary to German honor. Nor has it ever occurred to one German in ten thousand that Hitler has ruined even the sham profession and semblance of German honor; that of all his vows, protestations, promises, internal or external, solemn or bawling, literally not one has been kept."

"It is dangerous to persist in the hallucination that there is in Germany an effective element of kindly and learned old gentlemen, and of sweet pig-tailed maidens. That is unhappily a myth. The German professors either vanish on the day of battle or they turn out to be the worst of the expansionists. Don't count on the maidens either. Women have never been allowed to play much part in Germany. In early times of barbarianism German women were famed for inciting men to ferocity. Today Nazi girls are even worse — raucously blasphemous. Hitler has thrown them right back into their traditional limitations as cooks and childbearers.

"Germans, male and female, are content with servitude, on condition that they are provided with enough of their blindly idolised efficiency to inflict servitude on others. That is why you must never think that Hitler was an unnatural taste forced on Germany."

"No country," says Vansittart, "had ever so well deserved defeat or asked more loudly for retribution; but she got off with a fraction of the penalties that she would have imposed on the world had she won in 1918." The Germans, he concludes, are a country of homicidal maniacs, and: "The world must never again take anything for granted in Germany — or endanger itself by future illusions."

In a word, the German masses must be chained by the British invader.

Such is the real war aim of the British ruling class, justified by as fraudulent a piece of race-hating "theory" as Goebbels ever concocted.

OURS IS THE ONLY WAY TO FIGHT FASCISM

The "practical" liberals justify supporting the Churchill-Roosevelt war against Germany on the ground that, after all, this war is already on and we must pitch in. These liberals, however, have their moments of doubt — Dorothy Thompson's column on Eden's speech was such a moment.

Were any of these liberals honest enough to think through all the implications of their momentary doubts, they would have to come to the conclusion that the real war against fascism, as Dorothy Thompson fears, is lost, if the Edens remain in power. And the Edens — that means also Roosevelt and Churchill and the American and British capitalist class.

The real war against fascism will begin only when the workers of Britain and America take the governmental power into their own hands. They will be able to offer the German people, not another and worse Versailles, but the Socialist United States of Europe and America. Against that program, Hitler could not prevail. With that perspective, the German workers would speedily destroy fascism.

These French Socialists Say Leon Blum Was Wrong--But They Do The Same

The "Jean Jaures Group of Socialists," a small segment of the French Socialist party leadership which emigrated to England to continue their support of the "democracies," has recently transmitted to the press a manifesto. Upon reading it the eye is caught by the following paragraph:

"They (the signers) are of the opinion that the Socialist Party, for many years affected by reformism, opportunism and electioneering, is in part responsible for the increasing weakness of democracy in France; and that new methods as well as a new spirit are necessary in order that Socialism —which is not dead and will not die—shall again be capable of fulfilling its historic mission, which is one with that of the working class."

A new beginning! The Socialists are disregarding "reformism" and "opportunism."

Then, however, the eye is caught by the last paragraph:

"Finally, the French Socialists, convinced that Britain alone in this hour defends the freedom of the world against the formidable enterprise of enslavement which Hitler and Fascism represent, salute British resistance with admiration. In so doing they are certain of the agreement of Frenchmen practically without exception."

A "new" policy? Wasn't this support of Britain the policy of Leon Blum? What's new about it? The scene of operations has shifted from Paris to London; that's all that is new. The "Socialist" would still tie the workers to support of the imperialists war. All their pious hopes for Socialism cannot perfume the odor of their betrayal.

And these are only the minority of the leadership of the French section of the Second International. The *majority* of the leaders have gone in for collaboration with Hitler; they publish, with Hitler's blessing, *L'Effort* in Paris. They are not violating their principles in doing so. They were always "practical;" i.e., serving the nearest master.

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Trotsky's Books Are Banned In Nazi-Occupied France

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. —In the library of New Jersey College for Women a display was recently set up of books banned in Nazi-occupied France. Five of the twelve books shown were those of Leon Trotsky. These were "My Life," "The History of the Russian Revolution," "The Third International After Lenin," "The Revolution Betrayed," and "Lenin."

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By ALBERT PARKER

The Negro March On Washington

Last week, in our discussion of the proposed march of 10,000 Negroes on Washington on July 1, we indicated our support of the undertaking and called attention to the fact that the most important consideration in the march had to be the demands made by the marchers when they got there.

We discussed the proposal of the Negro Committee handling the march preparations; it intends to ask a presidential decree abolishing discrimination in employment and the armed forces. We explained how this was based on A. Philip Randolph's theory that Roosevelt could issue such an order tomorrow, "and discriminations against colored people would promptly end."

We support the demand, that Roosevelt should issue an executive order against discrimination. But we definitely do not believe that discrimination would end if Roosevelt issued the order. We support this demand because it would help the fight against specific cases of Jim Crowism, but do not believe it would by itself abolish Jim Crowism.

In support of our position, we want to recall one of the statements made by A. Philip Randolph in the article in which he first called for the march. It should be remembered that this statement of his was advanced as a *reason* for holding the march. Printed in January, it said:

"It seems to be apparent that even when well-meaning, responsible, top government officials agree upon a fair and favorable policy, there are loopholes, and subordinate officers in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, full of race hatred, who seek its contravention, nullification and evasion."

To this he should have added that the Negro-hating, labor-hating employers in industry know very well how to avoid laws and rulings when it serves their purpose.

How does Randolph square this statement of his in January with the one he made in April that a presidential decree would "promptly" end discrimination?

What Randolph Leaves Out

He doesn't, and he doesn't try to. He ignores this question, as he does others which touch the very heart of the problem, such as:

Industry, lock, stock and barrel, is in the hands of an employer class which fosters and strengthens anti-Negro prejudices in order to be able to more easily exploit workers of all races.

Military training, lock, stock and barrel, is in the hands of a hardened anti-Negro bureaucratic military caste which is dedicated to the maintenance in military life of every form of racial discrimination that exists in civilian life.

The government, lock, stock and barrel, is in the hands of a war-mongering administration that is notorious for its indifference to the needs and desires of the Negro people, and of two capitalist parties which take turns when they are in power in kicking around legislation such as the anti-lynch bill and the poll tax bill.

In other words, far more important than the question of an executive order which would only echo other rulings already on the books, is the question of CONTROL.

Even if the order were issued by Roosevelt, it would remain on paper, as long as control of industry, military training and the government remain in the hands of the enemies of the Negroes.

A Program for Militant Negroes

Consequently, Negroes must ask for more than a presidential order.

Employers controlling the war industries won't hire Negroes? Then expropriate the war industries, have the government take them over, and let them be managed and operated without discrimination by committees elected by the workers!

Negroes need military training in this period when all major questions are decided arms in hand, but the army bureaucrats are bitterly anti-Negro and determined to "keep them in their place"? Then join the fight for military training, financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, based on full equality for the Negroes!

The government and the boss parties aid the bosses in segregating and discriminating against the Negro people, refusing to pass such elementary legislation as the anti-lynch and poll tax bills? Then aid in the formation of a labor party pledged to carry on the Negroes' struggle, pledged to establish a Workers' and Farmers' government that would create a new society that would forever abolish poverty, war and racial discrimination!

This is the kind of program that Negroes need and must fight for — in Washington on July 1 and everywhere else until they win full social, economic and political freedom.

We do not pretend that the mere adoption of these demands by the marchers will bring automatic victory. Jim Crowism is too strongly rooted in the ways and customs and traditions of our great American democracy to be torn out easily. It will require a long and bitter fight, that will not be ended on July 1.

But with this program the marchers, and the Negro people, will have a weapon that will make a good start on July 1 and lay the foundation for a struggle that will end in victory, instead of in defeat and demoralization, as happens to so many actions that have no clear goal.

The Food Crisis In Britain

The Masses Go Hungry, While The Rich Guzzle And Profiteer

LONDON, England—The offensive on the food front has begun in earnest. Britain's toiling population, one half of which was undernourished in pre-war days, is being placed on a starvation diet which will undoubtedly lay bare wide sections of the community to disease and epidemics. Already the food situation is so bad that the Government's propaganda sheets compare it with 1917, when Lloyd George said the country was "three weeks from starvation."

What is the meaning of this? Why is it that in the seventeenth month of the war which according to Mr. Churchill is going to last at least five years, the country's food supplies are being reduced to a minimum? These are the questions that housewives are asking themselves as they travel from shop to shop with an empty basket. At the beginning of 1940 the Government rationed foods which in the main comprise the working-man's diet. Immediately prices began to rise, and cases arose where people could not even afford the rations. Unable to satisfy the needs of her family from rationed goods, the housewife turned towards other foods, but again found herself thwarted at the shop counter. No matter where she went, prices of unrationed goods had risen far beyond the limits of her purse, or as in the case of onions and lemons, the commodities had completely disappeared from the market.

"EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE" IS A CRUDE MYTH

Listening-in to the British Broadcasting Company's advice on "how to plan your daily diet" and to the "sacrifice for all" speeches of the Labour and Tory M.P.'s, the working-woman may well ask herself the question: "Is it true that this is a 'sacrifice for all' war?" Let us hear what Cassandra, leading scribe of the *Daily Mirror* had to say on January 8th:

"The password to gluttony in blockaded Britain is MONEY. Within five days I have eaten at least seven times my weekly meat ration, five times my bacon ration, nearly half a pound of butter, and have had so much sugar that I couldn't eat it all. This Everest of food has been obtained without the loss of a single food coupon. I have had a double portion of bacon within 20 minutes. Eggs may be scarce, but I wouldn't know it, cheese might be a luxury but you would have to wake me up in the night and tell me."

And where did Cassandra go to eat like this? He tells us:

"I have been in the big hotels where a cabinet minister is almost a commonplace. I have watched the great as they dine —Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord Beaverbrook, Mr. Brendon Bracken, Mr. Duff Cooper and Mr. Anthony Eden were among them." In conclusion he remarks: "Never in the history of a nation faced with famine can so much have been eaten by so few."

As the hungry workman leaves his home in the morning, prospects of satisfying his appetite at the factory canteen are slight. Reports from leading factories show that the mid-day meal often consists of potato chips, bread and an "ersatz" liquid sold as tea. Meat is not seen from one end of the week to the next. The factory worker who according to Bevin is winning the war on the home front has to starve while the company directors, stockbrokers and cabinet ministers dine in luxury.

FOOD COUPONS MERELY HIDE THE SITUATION

"But Lord Woolton is against ostentatious eating," yelps the *Daily Express*, and "he has declined to call for the surrender of meat coupons in restaurants and cafes because it would mean that people who eat in factory canteens would have to give up their coupons."

What hypocritical nonsense! As if you can compare the guzzling which goes on night and day in the expensive hotels and restaurants, to the workman's diet in the canteen! Monica Dawson, making an investigation on behalf of *Reynolds News*, writes about the prices charged in these luxury eating places! "Chicken (whole) 20/-, Loin chops 2/9, Sausages 1/- each, Steak and kidney pudding 4/3, Roast beef and Yorkshire 4/3." How can one compare these prices to those which the workers can afford?

It is clear that the question of equal distribution of food has got nothing at all to do with food coupons, because in capitalist Britain there are two food policies; one for the rich and one for the poor, and money is the decisive factor.

But didn't the Government assure us that everyone would have a fair share of the country's supplies, and that specially appointed controllers would see to this?

HUGE PROFITS GARNERED FROM WORKERS' HUNGER

Yes! Yes! Parliamentary gasbags have said this over and over again, but let us see how it works out in practice? When the war broke out the government appointed a number of prominent company directors from the food industry as food controllers. Almost at once, these gentlemen launched a belt-tightening campaign. A number of foods indispensable to the worker were rationed, and after a steady profit was assured, prices were controlled. The remaining foods which were unrationed were classified as luxuries and, the prices began to rocket sky-high, control was instituted. But lo and behold, they immediately disappeared from the market; witness the fate of onions and lemons. That they reappeared on the tables of the "right" people we can rest confident.

The *Daily Telegraph* writes:

"Buyers acting on behalf of a few West-End and large provincial hotels and restaurants ... are approaching individual wholesalers and retailers as they leave the market. They offer exorbitant sums ... The lemons appear on the tables of unpatriotic householders."

No matter what belt-tightening takes place, the rich get their food in any case.

One would think that in this "sacred" and "just" war the food controllers would practise a little of the self-sacrifice which they preach. Nothing of the sort. The year 1940 was one of the finest years for profits the food industry had ever witnessed.

Unilevers, who indirectly have five representatives on the food control committee, realized profits totalling £9,000,000 as against £6,700,000 for 1939. *Van den Berghs*, a subsidiary of Unilevers, who manufacture margarine made 1,500,000 pounds as against 1,250,000 pounds for 1939. *British Sugar Corporation* made 1,190,000 pounds against 397,000 for 1939. *Smiths Crisps garnered* £248,000 against £185,000 (1939). *Allied Bakers* got £480,000 against £370,000 (1939). All these are directly or indirectly represented on the food control committee.

REAL FOOD CONTROL MEANS CONSUMERS' COMMITTEES

Britain's food supplies are in chaos, and the working class is going without, because the country's food production and distribution is owned and controlled by the millionaire monopolies.

The demand of the hour must be for the building of consumers' committees all over the country. The committees must have as wide as possible a basis, which will include delegates from house-wives, factory workers, co-ops, small shop-keepers and combine employees.

One of the main functions of these committees would be to fix the prices of goods. Only when the determination of prices is taken of the hands of the greedy plundering combines and their representatives on the government food control boards, will there be an end to the enormous profiteering in food at the expense of the incalculable suffering and exploitation of the working class.

By setting these committees up throughout the whole of Britain, there can be equitable distribution of all available foods.

The committees must have full access to the books of the combines. A policy of genuine equality in consumption and equitable prices, cannot be effective while the control of the nation's food rests in the hands of a few gigantic monopolies, even when such control is exercised through government boards. The monopolies must be expropriated and operated under workers' control, with the food distribution controlled by the consumers, through the consumers' committees.

A TRUE STORY

A White Man's Town

By D. H.

We were building the army camp, working in the dreary Kitsachie forest day in day out and glad to be back in town at night. But the town was small and in the heart of the South. I stood on Main street in front of the corner drug store. When I got tired I circled the streets for a while and came back to the same place.

When it got dark, you looked at the sky. Occasionally, you heard the rumble of a train. It was a freight, you knew, loaded with army trucks, guns, equipment, speeding to the camp.

A fellow from the American Legion was on the corner. He was a dark faced man in the late forties. His oversea cap didn't seem to fit him. In one hand he held a bunch of poppies. In the other he held up a collection box. He was hard at work pushing the poppy drive.

"Don't forget your buddies, soldiers. We are in it again. Buy a poppy. We done it last time, we licked 'em last time; will do it again. Buy a poppy. Poppy, soldier? Poppy, mister? Poppy, madam? Get your poppy."

He'd stop for a moment to pin on a poppy and continue:

"Listen to F.D.R. t'night. We're in it again."

The artillery regiment had come in. The artillery was a colored outfit. The black soldiers didn't walk leisurely. They didn't hang around like the white soldiers. The black soldiers marched in military formation through the street on the way to the colored section on the other side of the tracks. They marched in groups of four and six, a corporal marching along with every other group.

Sometime, you could see a black soldier marching alone. You could see the way he walked that he knew how to keep out of trouble. He held his head up, looked straight ahead, stepped on the side when white folks were coming his way.

The crowd of town folks kept their eyes fixed on the black soldiers passing through. They didn't like it.

F. D. R. was speaking. He spoke against aggression and for defense and said that everybody had to do their bit — rich and poor. Everybody had to sacrifice. All for one and one for all.

The Legion salesman was quite pepped up.

"Got to get in now. Got to beat Hitler now."

And in the same breath:

"Don't forget the boys. Don't forget the buddies that done the last time. Buy a poppy."

A fellow came over and stopped to talk.

"It's gettin' mighty tough. Ah's never seen 'nythin' like it."

I thought he was talking about F.D.R.'s speech and the war coming nearer and nearer, and I said "Yes."

But he went on to say:

"This town never seen so many soldiers. Sho' we got to be prepared. Ah don't mind 'em soldiers, not a bit. It's 'em niggers. Just look at 'em marchin', look at 'em messin' around the sidewalks."

That fellow sure looked hurt so I said: "What of it, you have colored folks in town."

"That ain't it. Now 'em niggers 'roun' heah know their place, it's 'em soldiers. You can't just do the same to the nigger that's got Uncle Sam's uniform on. If you beat 'em up, you got to look out fer the M.P.'s. 'n' if you don't put 'em in place they get to think they's like a white man."

So that's what was troubling him.

Then he let a spittle fly.

"This ain't the North. We put 'em niggers in place the last time. We strung up some soldiers." He said it calmly and you could see a twinkle in his eyes.

"What did you hang them for?"

"Fer rapin' a white woman," he said.

I didn't like the guy. As a matter of fact, I didn't like the town and the people and none of their ways. But I was lonely and a stranger and looking for no trouble. So I said: "Yes sir, every time there's a woman, there is trouble." Just kidding him along.

F.D.R.'s speech was over. The stores that had kept open late to attract extra business were putting out the lights. The town folks were on their way home and the soldiers hurried back.

In front of the drug store the Legion man was still pushing the poppy drive. Then one fellow said:

"Look at that nigger."

Everybody turned around to look. A black soldier came marching by the store, then halted. He stood looking into the drug store window. Hesitatingly, slowly, he moved to the entrance. He finally walked into the store.

After a while a white man in a gray jacket pushed the soldier out of the store. A group of men ran over, the Legion man ran over and the traffic cop was there, too. The cop grabbed the soldier's arm and led him away from the entrance. The fellow in the gray jacket followed then and was telling the story to the cop.

"How you all come to mess 'round a place where white folks sit eatin'?" the cop demanded of the soldier.

"Ah's done nuttin'," the soldier stuttered, standing up against the wall. "Ah wuz gwanna buy me some thin'. I can buy in the store, cain't ah?"

"You sho' can," said the cop, "but you wasn't near the drug counter 'n' you wasn't near the cigarette place. You was messin' near the counter where 'em white folks is sittin'."

The soldier didn't know what to say. He just looked on.

"Well, I got to turn you over to the M.P.s," said the cop.

Just then an army officer in light brown pants and khaki jacket pushed himself through the small knot around the soldier. The cop did the explaining.

"Artillery?" the officer asked.

"Yes sir," the soldier said.

"Let's see your pass."

After looking at the pass, the young officer said:

"You fellows had orders not to hang around in this part of the town. You were told that when you get off the bus you were to march through this part of the town and do your hanging around among your own people. You have plenty time to buy things at the canteen on the reservation and you have stores in the colored section."

"Yes sir," said the soldier who stood at attention. His oversea cap was smartly fixed, but his face was blank.

"You like to get in trouble, don't you?"

"No sir," said the soldier.

"Well, a good stretch in the brig will probably teach you to obey orders."

There was nothing more to say. Everybody was waiting for the M.P.'s to come.

The two M.P.'s came along swinging their clubs. They took a strong grip of the soldier and led him away. They pushed him into the army car and sped away.

Militant Resolution Up In Irish Labor Party

The growing revolutionary class consciousness among the workers of Ireland is reflected in the resolutions submitted to the Annual Conference of the Labor Party in Dublin, April 21, 22 and 23 1941.

Although we have not yet received a report of the final decisions of the Conference, the MILITANT this week received by mail from Ireland the printed *Final Agenda* of the conference containing all the resolutions submitted by the various local branches and councils.

Of particular significance are two resolutions on the war submitted by the Dublin City Constituencies Council. This Council is an elected committee representing all the branches of the Labor Part in Dublin, and is generally referred to as the Dublin Labor Party.

The first resolution declares:

"Conference states its conviction that the present bloody conflict is an Imperialist War; that under Capitalism wars are an integral part of the profit making system, and are caused by the need to seek new markets, cheaper sources of raw material, and labour; therefore, the Labour Party must remain hostile at all times, to any element in Eire which desires this country to take sides in the War."

This resolution is implemented by a second, on the attitude of the Irish workers toward the armed forces of any of the imperialist countries which might occupy Irish soil, including British troops which might be sent ostensibly to "defend" Ireland from a Nazi invasion.

The resolution reads:

"That in the event of the occupation of Eire by the Armed forces of any of the Belligerents in the present struggle for the Capitalist Supremacy in Europe, no member of the Labour Party shall act or function in any civil administration functioning in conjunction with the Invaders."

A number of the resolutions indicate the rising demand from the ranks of the Labor Party for a policy of class struggle against the capitalist Eire government and the ruling class and for the fight for a socialist solution to the terrible conditions of the Irish workers and poor farmers.

One such resolution, submitted by the Waterford City Branch and amended by the Drumcondra Branch, states:

"That the Labour Leaders end the Political Truce, and lead the people away from the policy of the two Capitalist Parties and towards a clear-cut programme for the control by the workers of the means of production and distribution to save our people from starvation and evictions."

It is clear from the 42 resolutions presented by the local bodies to the Conference, that the Irish workers are eager to do battle against their class enemies and to fight against the unemployment, high prices and heavy taxes which increasingly burden down the Irish masses.

Our Stand On "Taking Over" War Industries

By JACK WEBER

The press has given space to the demand of Villard and the "Keep America Out of War Congress" that the government take over the war industries, including all the heavy industries. Oswald Garrison Villard says he also wants these industries to be run by the government "under democratic control."

What should our attitude be towards this demand of Villard and the isolationists who hope that by taking the profits out of the war industries they will stop United States entry into the war? To many people it may seem almost obvious that we would support Villard. For don't we also call for the expropriation of the war industries? And what difference is there between "democratic control" and "workers' control"?

Villard looks upon the government as something apart from the classes in society, and to him the drive for war is a pressure on the government by special interests which the government finds it difficult to resist. Villard wants to withdraw the pressure and thus free the government to act once more in the "common" interest. By eliminating the profit-making in the war industries, it would no longer pay the individual capitalists to press for war; they will stop pushing the government into war. Such is Villard's outlook.

Our answer is that the government is the executive committee of the entire capitalist ruling class. That class sees its whole future jeopardized by a redivision of the world not in accord with its basic interests. It is not a question of this or that industry, of profits of one group of capitalists as against those of other groups. What is involved in the imperialist war is the fate of the entire system of profit-making in the United States. Roosevelt speaks in the interests of capitalism as a whole.

Roosevelt May 'Take Over' Industries

Modern war calls for a tremendous concentration of power over the complete national resources and productive forces. The big bankers and industrialists are not at all averse to having the government exercise this power for war purposes. On the contrary, they call on Roosevelt to extend his power more and more, knowing that through him real control remains in their own hands, that his policies will be the policies of monopoly capitalism. If it were found necessary, Roosevelt would even take over certain industries in order to conduct the war more effectively. Thus in the last war Wilson took over the railroads.

The mere taking over of industries by the government is, therefore, no way to stop war at all. True, the bankers and the big industrialists never like the prospect of seeing the government actually take over and run industry. The reason they dislike to see this happen is because the working class may learn some valuable lessons from this experience as to the ease with which an industry can be run without the employers.

Why do we call on the government, the capitalist government, to expropriate industries and let them be run under workers' control? Our first aim is to educate the working class concerning the nature of war and its relation to the profit system as a whole. We have no illusions about the capitalist government—but many workers have. Our object is to dissipate these illusions and hence we try to get workers into those forms of struggle which will help them to understand the real nature of things. The workers are asked to sacrifice their lives in the war for "defense of their country." At every turn the conditions and circumstances of war permit us to contrast the sacrifices demanded of the masses with the failure to demand sacrifices from the ruling class, particularly in the matter of profit-making.

The Aim of Our Slogans

As war becomes more and more burdensome to the masses, they more willingly listen to proposals to ease their lot and not to permit the capitalists to amass wealth at the expense of our very lives. But let the slogan for expropriation of war industries once take hold, and let the workers begin to put up a strong fight to see this accomplished, and the education of the working class speeds up enormously. They would soon learn that the government of the capitalists has no intention whatsoever to squeeze the profits out of war. On the contrary, even where an industry might be nationalized, the first care of the government is to insure the steady flow of profits to the capitalist investors.

The struggle of the workers to force the government to take over certain industries and to permit the workers to have a say in the running of these industries would soon develop into a wide-scale struggle between the two basic classes, the working class and the capitalist class. The government would reveal itself in its true light as the instrument of the ruling class. The workers, trying to eliminate war-profits and to be in a position to see that this is done, would soon find out that the only way to do this, is for the workers themselves to take over the government. Only a workers' government could really carry carry out a program of taking over and running the war industries and the basic industries in the interests of the great masses.

Villard's slogan implies a faith in the government as an instrument for the "common good." Our manner of presenting the issue, on the contrary, is to dispel this illusion and to set the workers in motion on a path which leads to the proletarian revolution. Our slogan teaches that the only democratic control of industry is workers' control and that the only way this can be achieved is by means of workers' power over the government.

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.**
5. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
6. **For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
7. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
8. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
9. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**

Shrunken Bellies

"Demagogue" and "liar" were two of the terms applied to John L. Lewis by the bosses when he asserted last year that there were "52 million shrunken bellies" in this country.

But we now have public admissions to the same effect from leading government officials. Last week at the National Nutrition Conference for Defense, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace said:

> "We find that at least three-fourths of the people of the United States do not have what can be called good diets by any reasonable standard.
>
> "At least 40,000,000 people in the United States are suffering from very bad diets."

Federal Security Administrator Paul McNutt followed Wallace with a statistical report showing that a minimum of 45,000,000 persons in the United States are suffering from malnourishment and malnutrition.

This unprecedented admission by the Roosevelt administration is, to say the least, a paradox. It comes at precisely the moment when the government is urging the workers to pull in their belts still more in the interests of "national defense."

Deliberate curtailment of mass purchasing power and civilian consumption, in order to feed the war machine is admittedly one of the intents of the proposed new federal tax laws, the high-pressure "defense bond" drive, the effort to "freeze" wages, the slashing of WPA.

Why this sudden and unprecedented administration hullabaloo about America's 52 million shrunken bellies? Why wasn't such concern expressed two years ago, or six years ago, or nine years ago, when there were even more shrunken bellies?

For eleven years of the depression, the workers were starving even worse than today. We didn't hear army generals and high government spokesmen getting up at public conferences and bewailing the terrible undernourishment and hunger. They didn't attend such conferences. They didn't hold such conferences.

Yet even a reactionary brass hat like Brigadier General Lewis Hershey, deputy director of the Selective Service Act, today joins in the "shocked" chorus.

"We are physically in a condition of which nationally we should be thoroughly ashamed," declared Hershey, who had previously observed the ravages of eleven years of depression without once opening his mouth.

Hershey then gives the show away by expressing what he and the administration are really concerned about. He cites the figures of over 40 per cent of potential draftees having to be rejected for physical reasons, and adds:

"Probably one-third of these are suffering from disabilities directly or indirectly connected with nutrition."

The very name of the conference at which Hershey, Wallace and McNutt spoke is a dead give-away of the reason for their concern—National Nutrition Conference for DEFENSE.

Roosevelt, Wallace, McNutt and the brass hats aren't worried about the 52 million shrunken bellies as a matter of principle.

All this hypocritical agitation represents nothing more than the desire of the government to fatten up more lambs for the imperialist slaughter. It has nothing to do with any genuine desire or attempt to straighten out the wrinkles in the 52 million shrunken bellies.

All the administration can do, however, is bemoan the situation. It cannot take measures to improve the health of the working population, which is the reservoir of fighting man-power. On the contrary, the administration is driving in the opposite direction: reducing the living standards still further by deliberately curtailing the production of consumers' goods and mass purchasing power.

A Straw In the Wind

The latest returns in the national referendum of the International Typographical Union indicate —the ITU officers concede it—that its members will reject William Green's invitation to reaffiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

This is a straw in the wind of more than passing significance.

In arriving at this decision, the ITU members were voting against the unanimous recommendation of the ITU executive board that the union return to the AFL. They voted in this fashion despite the fact that the AFL leaders had come to terms with the leaders of the ITU, and had agreed to discontinue the special assessment for a "war chest" to fight the CIO. The ITU was suspended from the AFL in 1939 for refusing to pay this assessment.

What is of most significance is that this continued opposition to the policies of the AFL is expressed by members of a union which has had its deepest roots in the AFL craft tradition.

The attitude of the ITU membership can be taken as nothing less than a reflection of the sentiments of an ever increasing number of craft unionists who have come to realize that the craft union policies of the present AFL leadership are wrong and detrimental to the labor movement.

It is a sign that the ranks of the craft unions have been observing the superior merits of the industrial union policies represented by the CIO.

Step by step the AFL has had to yield in power and prestige to the CIO. Today no one can seriously dispute the fact that the CIO is the outstanding organization of American labor, and that its recent material contributions to the welfare of the working class have far surpassed the small change which the AFL has offered.

The vote of the International Typographical Union should not be viewed as a mere reflection of continued disunity in the ranks of organized labor. It is a hopeful token of the growing desire amongst the craft union rank and file to achieve labor unity on a progressive, industrial union basis against the reactionary opposition of the AFL leaders.

Gene Debs' Tradition

The war mongering Social Democratic Federation has presumed to speak in the name of Eugene Debs.

In a statement to the press attacking the pacifist Norman Thomas, the Social Democrats this week asserted that Thomas does not represent the movement of Debs. These recruiting sergeants for imperialism attempt to represent themselves as the continuators of Debs!

Every word and act of these "socialists" betrays the ideas for which Debs lived and died.

The Wilson administration murdered Debs for his uncompromising opposition to the last imperialist war. Old and sick, Debs went to federal prison rather than agree to maintain silence against the war. He died of tuberculosis contracted during his years of prison confinement. To his last breath he called for unyielding class struggle against the boss class and its wars.

Yes, Gene Debs was the mortal enemy of all the Social Democrats uphold.

And he would have spat with equal scorn upon the pious pacifism of Norman Thomas. Debs would never have joined hands with capitalist politicians like Senator Wheeler and pro-fascists like Lindbergh. He would never have slobbered pacifism to the plaudits of Bundists and Christian Fronters.

Debs was no pacifist. He did not fight against capitalist war by puling appeals for "peace." Debs sought to end imperialist war by the proletarian class war.

Whoever would speak in the name of Gene Debs, must address the world in the true spirit of Debs' immortal words:

> "I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world wide war of social revolution."

Only one political party of the American working class today has the right to speak in the name of Debs. That is the Socialist Workers Party, our party. We, like Debs, are opposed to every war but one. We, like Debs, are heart and soul for the world wide war of social revolution.

Let the "socialists" of the Social Democratic and Norman Thomas stripe dare to profess as much, before they ever again presume to utter the name of America's greatest proletarian fighter.

A Big Business Threat Against Wage Raises

David Lawrence, Big Business Spokesman, Threatens That If Wages Are Not Kept Down, Inflation And Fascism Will Follow

David Lawrence, spokesman for America's most reactionary big capitalists, has just made two threats to the Roosevelt administration: first, inflation—second, fascism!

Mr. Lawrence's threats are contained in a signed editorial appearing in the May 21st issue of **The United States News**. This weekly magazine (of which Lawrence is editor) is not read by the general public but serves rather as a sort of internal news bulletin for the capitalists. It is not a magazine given to hysterics; rather it is a calm and thoughtful expression of opinions held by a very weighty section of the bourgeoisie. When Lawrence speaks through this medium he is not talking for effect, he is speaking, in all sobriety, directly to the President over the heads of the people.

Lawrence begins by deploring Roosevelt's inability or unwillingness to crush the CIO's strike wave and wage gains:

> **"... President Roosevelt (recently) suffered the most ignominious defeat of his public career ... Unable or unwilling to deal with the CIO in any other way, he permitted his own National Defense Mediation Board to grant 100 percent the wage demands (on General Motors)...thus set the pace for a nationwide set of wage increases even as the Government strove feebly in other quarters to argue against price rises and inflation."**

Lawrence then makes clear that big business has no intention of paying wage raises out of its profits, but will try to pass them on to the consumer.

> **"At a time when the youth of the nation is being compelled to serve at $21 a month, the auto workers had their pay boosted by $208 a year. With overtime it will mount still higher ... The General Motors Corporation can stand the increase but can the American people? The American people will pay the increased cost all along the line. Prices can not be held down if wage costs increase."**

RATHER INFLATION THAN A CUT IN PROFITS

Thus Lawrence reveals that not only do the big capitalists intend to absorb no part of increased labor costs, but also that they plan to brand labor with the responsibility for the coming inflation. He admits the inevitable scarcity of consumer goods as production is geared to war goods, but denies inflation would result if it were not for increasing costs.

Why, then, don't these patriotic corporations aid in avoiding inflation by absorbing at least part of increased labor costs? The question stares Lawrence in the face and he tries to answer:

"On most of the defense contracts, the big manufacturers are making less profit by a good deal than on their normal operations," he says.

> **In short, if it's a choice between inflation and cutting profits, it will have to be inflation:**

"The amount of purchasing power created by the payroll increases must go somewhere. It will soon be bidding for consumer goods. The Government will try to hold prices down. This is impossible unless wage scales are held stagnant."

In this paragraph Lawrence is warning Roosevelt and Henderson that price control will be sabotaged by big business unless they appease business at the expense of the workers' wage scales. His minimum demand is "stagnant" wages.

> **"We are on the threshold, therefore," he warns, "of an inflation cycle of incalculable proportions."**

To secure the cooperation of business in avoiding inflation, Lawrence demands from the Government, not only a reduction of workers' wages, but also an increased tax burden upon what would be left.

"The well-to-do will be taxed heavily—in fact to the point of confiscation," he laments. "Meanwhile, because of politics, about $12,000,000,000 of gross income earned by 80 per cent of America's families in the lower brackets will escape income taxes and direct defense taxes."

In reality of course, the "lower brackets" are taxed indirectly in a hundred different ways. But that still isn't enough for Lawrence.

THIS "DEMOCRAT" IS READY TO INVOKE FASCISM

And if business is not appeased? Lawrence, in a scarcely veiled threat, sees fascism.

> **"It is precisely this sort of decay and disintegration from within Democracy," he says, "that gave Hitler his chance in the last eight years. The French Republic collapsed because of this very internal poison ... For the economic collapse that must someday follow such foolhardy policies (wage increases and taxing capital)...must inevitably produce a terrible reaction against democratic government and sow the seeds of fascism in America."**

Such are the "democrats" who rule big business. This war to "save democracy" is their war—it is at their instigation that Roosevelt is entering it. Lawrence has no quarrel with Roosevelt on foreign policy! But he, and those for whom he speaks, will brook no interference in their manner of conducting the war on the home front. Their main enemy is at home! The war is a golden opportunity to crush that enemy ... the workers. That, indeed, is one of the main objectives of their "war for democracy."

The American capitalists have grandiose plans for crushing their enemies abroad (the rival imperialists), but these plans would never be prosecuted at the cost of a defeat at home. The home front must be secured at any price. If, to defeat the enemy at home, it becomes necessary to make peace with the enemy abroad, they will not hesitate to do so. That is the class outlook which Lawrence expresses.

Business Goes In For 'Bootlegging' Metals

Manufacturers and metal producers have developed several devices for beating the price regulations on metal upon which the government has fixed restrictions.

The "bootlegging" of war materials — particularly vital metals like zinc and aluminum, of which there is a limited supply — has become such open scandal that Leon Henderson's Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply has had to threaten to "crack down" on manufacturers and producers who in recent transactions are known to have transferred supplies of scrap aluminum and zinc at double the "maximum" official prices.

How these "bootleggers" are operating to make huge war profits despite the price "controls" is described by S. F. Porter, in the June 2 *New York Post*.

HOW THE BOOTLEGGER GETS HIS MONEY

A manufacturer who is anxious to get some metal — zinc or aluminum, for instance — and is willing to pay any price for it, goes to the producer and offers to pay an amount over the price fixed by the OPACS.

The producer states that he doesn't have any available supply of the desired metal — that is, until the buyer offers a handsome enough price. The producer then "sees what he can do."

What he can do to beat the price regulations "legally" is described by Porter as follows:

"The producer may sell the buyer of zinc a few thousand pounds of, say, lead -- or any other commodity he has around that is not subject to official control — at a price far above the market level.

"Simultaneously, he may sell the buyer the zinc he demands at the official price. The two transactions must be considered as one, for the buyer is taking the lead only because he wants the zinc.

"This system of circumventing the price controls is being used with surprising frequency, it is reported.

> **"Or the buyer may make an obviously ridiculous bet with the producer. For instance, he might say, 'I'll wager $10,000 you can't jump over this matchstick.'**

"The producer sells the aluminum or zinc or scrap steel or iron at the right prices, yes. But when you add in his profits from other 'sources,' the prices are way up.

"In Wall Street, experts are aware of several specific deals that were put through along with wagers."

These metal bootleggers represent a number of financial big shots, the type who froth at the mouth about labor's "impeding" "national defense."

Government officials, Congressmen, and Big Business representatives generally, know what is going on. But there is no clamor, no demands for "life imprisonment or electrocution," for these war profiteers who are beating the law.

At most, when the profiteering and price violations get too raw, and public scandal is about to break loose, the OPACS will threaten some of the small fry malefactors to divert attention from the manipulations of the big fish operators.

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Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Roosevelt's "Freedom of the Seas"

Roosevelt's sudden resurrection of the doctrine of freedom of the seas brings to mind a prediction made by Comrade Trotsky, When the first draft of the **Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution** came up from Coyoacan, it contained a sentence to the effect that American imperialism will intervene in the world war under the slogan of freedom of the seas. That sentence was in the paragraph which is now the first on page 9 of the printed Manifesto. The present formulation is: "Under one or another pretext and slogan the United States will intervene in the tremendous clash," etc.

I recall that when I read the first draft and saw the definite prediction on the part of Comrade Trotsky that the slogan of freedom of the seas would be utilized by the American imperialists, my usual caution prompted me to raise an objection. It was rather risky, I argued, to make such a definite prediction, especially in view of the fact that the United States had partially, if not wholly, surrendered the right of freedom of the seas by the Neutrality Act. My objection was delivered to Comrade Trotsky and with his customary habit of giving in on secondary questions he agreed to the present very cautious formulation. But he did not agree that the freedom-of-the-seas idea had been surrendered by the American ruling class.

* * *

The present formulation in the Manifesto does not exclude the possibility of the utilization by the imperialists of the slogan of the freedom of the seas. Indeed, it was worded so as not to exclude that possibility. But I must confess that at that time the idea that Roosevelt would utilize that slogan appeared extremely improbable to me. It was used by Wilson and because of that, very fact it appeared to me that it would not be utilized by Roosevelt.

Freedom of the seas is not a slogan capable of arousing tremendous enthusiasm amongst the masses. Can one imagine huge numbers volunteering to join the army and navy to protect the right of U. S. merchant ships to deliver goods to foreign countries? It is not a slogan that even the ruling class would become enthusiastic about (although in so far as it is connected with trade and profit it is far more truthful than the slogan of fighting for democracy). As a matter of fact, there was no serious opposition to the passing of the Neutrality Law which in effect surrendered the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. There was some opposition from some elements of the reactionaries, but not on a large or serious scale.

Why the Slogan is Revived

It cannot therefore be the purpose of the administration, in its revival of the slogan, to obtain greater support either amongst the masses or amongst important sections of the ruling class. As far as the masses are concerned, the slogan of a struggle for democracy against fascism remains primary. The masses can be gotten to support the war only because of their fear and hate of fascism. And as far as the ruling class is concerned, even that section which is now opposed to Roosevelt's foreign policy, it will support the war because its basic economic interests are involved.

Insisting on the right of the freedom of the seas at the present time can be explained only on the theory that the Roosevelt administration wants to go further than it has gone in helping Britain defeat Hitler and at the same time prepare some **"legal"** basis for entry into the war. Because Roosevelt made such a flat statement some time ago that convoying means shooting and shooting means war, he would like to find a different way than convoying by which to intervene actively in the shooting war. The doctrine of freedom of the seas might furnish the necessary pretext. It certainly furnishes a legal justification for the "patrol system."

What the Slogan Really Means

And then it must not be forgotten that the doctrine in itself is a very good one to hold in reserve for the future even as against British imperialism. What does freedom of the seas actually mean? It certainly does not mean what it says. For it is obvious that only those countries can have freedom of the seas who are powerful enough to enforce it. The countries without a strong navy must in actuality look to their "protecting" big brothers to give them freedom of the seas. Freedom of the seas in actuality means the right of the strongest to dictate the conditions under which merchant ships of other countries will be permitted to ply the ocean.

Before the war became total in its character—that is, before monopoly capitalism gained complete control of the economic life of the world and before the whole nation became an integrated part of the war effort—it was possible for a number of rules to be observed during a conflict between two nations. It was possible under limited circumstances to make some distinction between contraband and non-contraband goods. But under modern conditions everything is contraband because everything is necessary for waging war. Monopoly capitalism based on the highest development of technique made all rules of war obsolete.

There can be no such thing as freedom of the seas when the world is dominated by a few strong imperialist nations warring amongst themselves for supremacy and exploiting all the weak nations. True freedom of the seas can exist only when world economy is organized on a socialist basis with the whole world freely participating in the production and exchange of goods. Freedom of the seas will come into being when the working masses will organize such a world.